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The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter

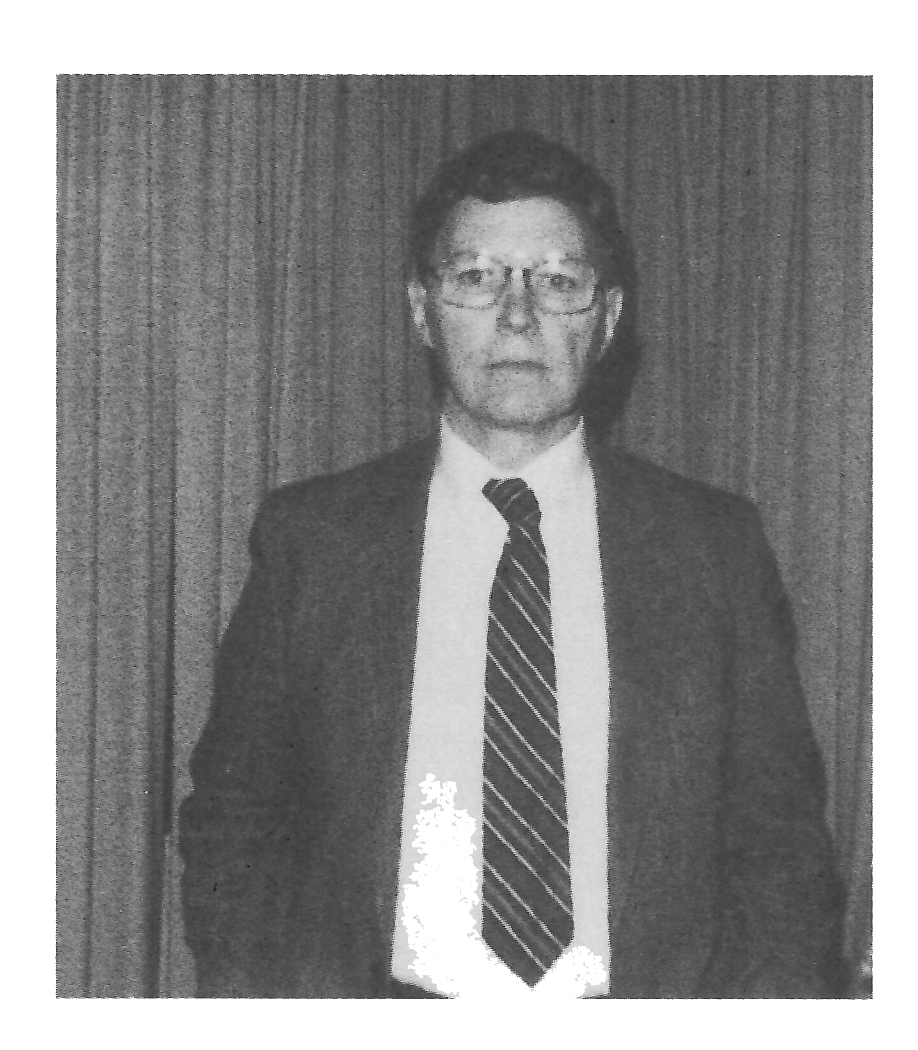
Edited by

YOËL L. ARBEITMAN



PEETERS

THE ASIA MINOR CONNEXION: STUDIES ON THE PRE-GREEK LANGUAGES IN MEMORY OF CHARLES CARTER



ORBIS / SUPPLEMENTA

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The Asia Minor Connexion: Studies on the Pre-Greek Languages in Memory of Charles Carter

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YOËL L. ARBEITMAN



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface VII

Charles William Carter (Oct. 27, 1928 – March 4, 1988) ... IX-X
Yoël L. ARBEITMAN
Bibliography of Charles Carter .... XI-XII

Luwian *ziti*- and Radical Cognates 1-17
Yoël L. ARBEITMAN
On Pronouns 19-33
Françoise BADER
Sturtevant's Law in Hittite: A Reassessment 35-46
Allan R. BOMHARD
Sacrifices in the City of Teišebâ (UKN 448): Lights on the Social History of Urartu 47-60
Igor M. DIAKONOFF
Cilicie et Canaan dans les documents chyprominoens 61-75
Jean FAUCOUNAU
Father's Sons and Mother's Daughters: The Problem of Indo-European/Semitic Relationships 77-84
Cyrus H. GORDON
Armenian and the Kartvelian Languages 85-91
John A.C. GREPPIN
Indo-European **H̯aHs*- with Reflections on Hittite "hearth" and "star" 93-94
Eric P. HAMP
Tiere als *materia magica* im Ritual der Zuwi (CTH 412) ... 95-106
Manfred HUTTER
The Lycian Shift ã > u and its Implications for the Study of the Epigraphic Materials 107-121
Wolfgang JENNIGES – *Pierre* SWIGGERS
Hittite *andurza* "inside, indoors" and the Indo-Hittite Hypothesis 123-131
Brian D. JOSEPH
Hittite *ariya*-: "Consult an Oracle"? 133-149
Sara E. KIMBALL

"So weit und breit wie das Meer..." — das Meer in Texten hattischer Provenienz 151-172
Jörg KLINGER
Aspects of Cuneiform Luvian Nominal Inflection 173-183
H. Craig MELCHERT
Hethitisch *sēr* "auf" 185-188
Norbert OETTINGER
Hieroglyphic Luwian *tuwati* and *u(n)zati* 189-193
Terumasa OSHIRO
The Origin of Non-Greek Letters in the Phrygian Alphabet: The Evidence from Gordion 195-204
Lynn E. ROLLER
Notes on Lycian and Milyan 205-211
Vitaly SHEVOROSHKIN
Some Comments about the Hittite Numeral 3 213-219
Kenneth SHIELDS
Semitic *dagān* and Indo-European *$*d^h e\hat{g}^h om$*: Related Words?. 221-232
Itamar SINGER
More on the Hattic Sentence-Building: Does the Category of Tense Exist in Hattic? 233-243
Piotr TARACHA

PREFACE

This volume has had a long and difficult gestation. But what comes to me to attempt to state here is the almost unstateable: the profound appreciation I have for those twenty-one contributors who stayed the course and did not withdraw their papers. Their loyalty, these twenty-one out of the original thirty-two, to the book and to the honoree of the book, their confidence that I was putting in the fullness of effort that was possible cannot be treasured enough. As the creator and editor of the book I have offered this appreciation; yet, in another sense, these twenty-one are all the co-creators of this book — so let us all congratulate each other.

It cannot go without being stated that at four or five propitious moments, at times when all seemed about to be lost, there would always turn up a message in Latin — as things were at another time and at another place — a message that gave the right push to proceed further or the balming salve to a wounded scholar from the midwife of this volume, Prof. Ruggero Stefanini, my first Hittite teacher, my colleague and friend for some decades since then. I would thank him, but I think this was a mission, propelled by other powers.

As for my own scholarship, both with this book and in other matters during these seven hard years, it could not have proceeded without kindnesses, each in his/her own way, of four persons: my brother Gordon Wayne Arbeitman, my colleague of about a quarter of a century Allan R. Bomhard, my long-time friend Carol Jochnowitz, and the only priest this Jew has ever had, my priest Evasio De Marcellis (1934–1997), who has always been there since we were co-students in Jerusalem more than three decades ago.

And ultimately the volume would never have come to birth under the known rough circumstances without the continuous involvement with and faith in the project by my colleague from the Schwartz and Ehrman volumes of about a decade ago, Pierre Swiggers.

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN.

CHARLES WILLIAM CARTER
(Oct. 27, 1928 – March 4, 1988)

Our common colleague, Prof. Charles Carter, was born in the US state of Kentucky, and it was in his natal state that he received his first degree, a B.A. in mathematics (with a "minor" in German) in 1950. As his geographical peregrinations across the USA ran a parallel track with his on-going degrees, five years later, in 1955, he added the degree of B.D. (Bachelor of Divinity) from Emory University in the US state of Georgia. The (circuitious) route from mathematics to divinity culminated with the Ph.D. in Hittitology which he was to obtain at the University of Chicago in 1962. His dissertation there, *Hittite Cult Inventories* (CHD abbreviation "Carter, Diss.") remains a reference work and I have personally been told by several scholars of its influence on them and their undertakings.

During the following three years he served as a clergyman of the Methodist denomination in the US state of Nebraska. This was followed up by a one-year position teaching the history of religion at Central Methodist College in the US state of Missouri. In 1966 came his settling down into one place, the History Department of the University of (the US state of) North Dakota in Grand Forks — the capital of that state. Kentucky, Georgia, Illinois (Chicago), Nebraska, Missouri, North Dakota: South to North together with Mid-West to Further-West, but not Far-West and no East at all in the vast geographical and cultural intersecting lines making up the USA. I advise anyone who would really see it to mark it on a map or plot it out on a computer screen.

While such a life and series of places of being brought up and educated have a major formative influence on any of us humans, there is no need to tell that for one whose mind, heart, and soul are in the Latino-Greek, Aegeo-Mid-East inclusive here of the Anatolian peoples and cultures, and languages, etc., inclusive too of the Biblical World and of ancient and modern Israel (as Charles' were), this is the strong, tugging at one always, alternate influence. One might be in Nebraska in body, but in some other way one is simultaneously THERE and in Charles' case that THERE was both Anatolia and (for both scholarly and religious reasons) Israel.

And it is to the first of these THERES that these next factual *c.v.* data form the common and united ground: in the summer of 1968, as a Fellow

of the American Research Institute in Turkey, Charles was able to devote his summer to studying and copying some hundred Hittite tablets at the Ankara Archaeological Museum.

He spent his allotted next quarter century teaching at the University of North Dakota, very happily married to his wife Rosaline who had made a miraculous adjustment to the frigid climate of North Dakota, miraculous for anyone, but all the more for one who had come from the warm climes she hailed from. They had two sons, Bill and Anthony, and one daughter, Caroline. Charles was also fully participatory in community affairs, his church, and the Boy Scouts. On the more solitary level, he devoted himself with a plentitude of commitment and enthusiasm to wood-working and the making of model-airplanes.

Most of these facts I owe to the issue of the *Proceedings of the Manitoba-North Dakota Linguistic Circle* devoted to his memory. I have not been able myself to obtain a copy of this and the relevant information has been summarized for us and transmitted to me by Carter Kaplan, Charles' nephew, who came after his uncle's death to live with Charles' family, and participate in sorting out his papers and such while he obtained his Ph.D. at the University of North Dakota. Much of the additional personal information was given to me, likewise, by Carter Kaplan in the form of long letters. He also tracked down in numerous libraries copies of all Charles' published articles which — as so many colleagues have learned to their chagrin — are most difficult or impossible to find. For these many participations in understanding more fully his uncle's life, I want to acknowledge Carter Kaplan's cooperation. I also want to express my deep appreciation for the very perceptive introduction which Prof. Cyrus H. Gordon has provided his paper with. Though I knew Charles little, I do know that the facts Prof. Gordon synthesized into a fine evocation of the happinesses and disappointments that most matter more than ring true — they are in the finest tradition of oratory.

I myself just happened to meet Charles about ten times at Oriental and/or Biblical conferences during the period 1979-1982. We had an immediate and strong mutual attraction. The only word that comes to mind as I visualize these meetings is: "there is a pixy". And when you are in the company of a totally charming and disarming pixy who can and readily does discuss both Anatolia and Israel, what finer company can a man want!

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN.

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[1] This is the journal *Social Science* published in Toledo, Ohio.

[2] For an alternative analysis, with extensive "confrontation" with Carter's account, see J.J. Justesen – L.D. Stephens, "Nasal + Obstruent Clusters in Hittite", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101 (1981), 367-370.

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[3] *Oriens* is the Turkish Hittitological journal (Milletlerarası Şark Tetkikleri Cemiyeti Mecmuası).

LUWIAN *ziti-* AND RADICAL COGNATES

Yoël L. Arbeitman

Proud to have known
Charles Carter, a source
of joy to all his friends.

I. Luwian *ziti-*

On the basis of the independent connexions of Cuneiform Luwian *ziyar(i)* = Lycian *sijēni* = Hittite *kittari*, IE √**k̂ey-* "to lie/be in place" by Melchert (1987: 195) and Morpurgo Davies/Hawkins (1988: 177), Prof. Roberto Gusmani (1987-88: 109), who has long earned his laurels in this area of Anatolian phonology, argued the derivation, from the Luwian assibilated representative of this root, of that language's noun for "man", *ziti-*. Gusmani conceptualized *ziti-* as originally an abstract (< **k̂ey-ti-*), to which he gives the gloss "virilità", concretized into "vir"; but we understand from his succinct formulation that his intention encompasses this order of steps: IE **k̂ey-ti-* "lying" > "masculinity/virility" > (concrete) "lyer/one who is supine rather than erect" > "husband" > "man/vir" in general. He informs us *expressis verbis* that the foundation stone for this construct is the use of the root **k̂ey-* "lie" ("in an erotic connotation"), cf. Greek ἀκοίτης, OHG *hīwo* "husband", *et sim.*

I would suggest that the whole construct is built with a series of unwarranted presuppositions and that each of these lacks the need for counter-argument once the previous one has been shown to be incapable of advancing its part of the entire argumentation. These points are (A):

1. that *ziti-* semantically developed from "husband" to "man", specific to general. Unproven and unlikely;
2. that "husband" is — from an etymologically near universal perspective — a concretizing of "lying (*sc.* with one's wife)";
3. that (even be both the above premises granted, for argument's sake) "lying" by itself = "lying with" (as in Greek ἀκοίτης and ἄλοχος). Apparently:

A. (1) is based (a) on the meaning (one time) in context of a Lycian word *sidi-* — of a millennium later than the Luwian — and (b), with the benefit of the doubt being conceded, that *sidi-* (α) is cognate with Luwian *ziti-* and (β) that the meaning here is "husband", it is all too obvious that, had Prof. Gusmani chosen to write this article in German rather than in Italian, he would be writing: "X. und ihr Mann". But having written in his own language, he wrote: "X. e il di lei marito", and thereby the argument became (however involuntarily) skewed.
B. Though examples of differing conceptual sources for either "spouse" in various languages, in varied cultures, and at sundry times, can easily be gleaned from anywhere along these continua, the NE word for "husband" is, itself, a perfectly fine example of one of many other modes of denominating the male spouse. And even as (*m. s.*) the native Italian of Gusmani skews his interpretation of the Lycian word's development, the word in my native language offers me other vistas. The *AHD*[3] explains the Word History as OE (ultimately from OIce.) present participle, "he who has the land and stock of the household", "master of the house", and as one who has land, who holds stock, he would most likely, except in exceptional circumstances, keep and possess a wife. The *AHD*[3] proposes that the two functions of the land-and-stock-holder and the wife-holder brought about later the current restriction to the meaning "male spouse".
C. Since (1) lacks adequate puissance to serve as a sufficient datum and (2) can in no way be seen either as a language universal or as an IE "given" (*v. infra*), further refutation could seem beyond the necessary. Yet (3) is given a finer degree of exactitude in being examined by and for itself. And here the question is whether the OHG (& co.) *hīwo* "spouse" words adduced by Gusmani alongside the Greek with alpha copulative can stand steadily enough themselves to then serve as the support for allegedly like-built etymologies.

In a recently completed two-year study of the Germanic words and their IE cognates and associated matter (ms.), I have argued strongly against this proposal and hence these radical connexions for the Germanic nouns. The massive detail I have assembled has its basis in Lehmann's (1985: *in toto*) epitome of the evidence for **k̂ey-*[2], a homophonic IE root of which my definition can be seen in the "References" here.

But let us backtrack to the Luwian word and (3) here: the Luwian word presents no hypostasis of any syntagm, a nominal univerbation (not that one would readily expect such in Anatolian). Nevertheless, it remains very troublesome that while IE "spouse" words coming from "those who lie": (**k̂ey-* or **leĝh-*: ἀκοίτης; fem., Homeric already, ἄκοιτις, and ἄλοχος) invariably have a prenoun (**m̥*, **s-m̥*, **ksun*, **m̥-bhi*, **pi-*, **o-*, resp., *inter alia*, Gk., Gk.-Slav. [?], Gk.-Slav. [?], Gmc., and "Philistine", and Gk. [with Anatolian?]; cf. Isebaert [1992: 289], *AHD*[3]: "IE Appendix", Rabin [1974: 253-64], Levin [1983: 192-97], and Arbeitman [1988: 419-26])[1].

Each objection raised, individually makes the derivation of *ziti-* "man" from the abstract "lying" through the intermediate nuance of an actor noun "lyer", questionable and more than a little so.

Self-evidently one can be a lyer, yes, as a relational copulator and just as well as a casual or violent copulator, or — with just as much justification for linguistic derivation — as one who regularly takes naps, lying on the grass or in a hammock or as one who, to get and keep a tan, in the absence of any other demands on his/her time, lies every day in the sun. To return to the examples cited above, in the want of the *sulogъ* of Slavic, the Greek words previously cited, *et sim.*, there is nothing from which to even begin such an etymology, let alone to arrive at subsequent steps. While Winfred Lehmann (*art. cit.*) very much abolished the "lie" etymon category for the regularly cited Gmc. *hīwo*, it does remain true that a prominent scholar such as Seebold, in the most recent Kluge, feels drawn to the traditional perspective, and, in a letter to me of 11 June 1994 (for which I express my gratitude), speaks of being more dominantly directed to the old derivation than he indicated in the dictionary.

But, with all due respect to both Prof. Seebold and Prof. Gusmani, I am not moved, and it is a sure and certain matter to me that if *ziti-* is IE, then its only semantically suitable connexions are those with the family of the **k̂ey-*[2] words which Lehmann defined as starting out with the adverb "here" (Lehmann *art. cit.*: 520 with a history of the early stages of the theory), with a verb based on or built to this item having the meaning development: "to be here, to be close, to be one of us".

This would make man "one of our tribe, adult human male of ours/us, with rights and who fights". These are precisely the concepts that many groups have always used interchangeably with the concept "(male) human being".

[1] Present circumstances do not permit me to discuss all the triple disqualification of Hittite *šašant-* adduced by RABIN (1974: 58).

Melchert (1994: 241), discussing the diphthong to vowel development, says of Gusmani's proposal for *ziti-* "prob[ably]", while Tischler (1990: 85[90]) expresses a good measure of reservation, and one must note that his rendering as "*Bei*schläfer, Bett*genosse*" = Gk. ἀκοίτης [emphases mine] makes the point precisely.

II. Hittite *kaena-*

Hrozný (1919: 100, fn. 6)[2], in brief textual commentary relegated to the footnotes, wrote:

> Heth. *kaënaš, *gaënaš, kainaš* viell. 'Verwandter' o. ä. erinnert einigermaßen an lat. *cīvis*, osk. *ceus* 'Bürger', ahd. *hīwo* "Gatte, Hausgenoße' ags. *hīwan* Pl. 'Hausgesinde', lett. *saime* 'Gesinde' air. *cōim, cōem* 'hübsch, lieblich' (Grundbedeutung 'Sippenangehörig, vertraut, liebreich' usw.) wie auch anderseits viell. an lit. *kaimaš* 'Dorf', *kaimýnas* 'Nachbar' usw. (siehe zu diesen indogermanischen Wörtern Walde Lat. etym. Wb.[2] s. v. *cīvis*). Es läßt sich leider nicht entscheiden, ob das hethitische Wort — unter der Voraussetzung, daß *kainaš* seine relativ ursprünglichste Form sei — mit einer dieser idg. Wortgruppen verwandt sei.

"All the rest is commentary", as Hillel put it. Nevertheless some of this commentary contributes to the scope of this paper, if less so to the etymology of the Hittite word in question. Metzger (1957: 75) proposed:

> Heth. *kaena-* ist von dem ich-deiktischen **k̂i* "dieser, hier" abzuleiten (lat. *cis..., citer* "dieseitig", got. *himma* usw.), auf das im Hethitischen wohl auch der Instrument. Sg. *kīdanta*, und der Gen. Pl. *kinzan* von *kā-* "dieser, hier", und weiter noch *kiššan* "in dieser Weise, so, folgendermaßen" zurückgehen.

and (1960a: 305) continued:

> Got. *jain-* läßt sich der Form nach mit dem Instrumental ai. *yēna* (*tēna, kēna*) vergleichen. Got. *jain-*, die Raumbezeichnung wie das Pronomen, beruht demnach auf einem alten Instrumental-Soziativ, ebenso wie das aisl. Pronomen *hann* dessen Grundform germ. **hain-* ... = idg. **k̂oin-* wohl auch in heth. *kaena-* "Verwandter, Verschwägerter" bezeugt ist.

Bader (1983: 11-12), citing the same group of words as Hrozný (1919) had from Walde, and offering a semantic framework for all of these much the same as Metzger had for Hittite *kaena-* alone amongst

[2] This is cited by a typographical error in TISCHLER (1980: 459) as being in the fn. to p. 106 instead of the correct p. 100.

nouns, divided the various nouns into those indicating "l'amitié", "la concitoyenneté", "la famille au sens large: groupe d'alliance matrimonial", and "des noms d'habitat". She summarized her views with the statement:

> Ces termes ont souvent été expliqués par la racine **kei-* [*sic*] "gésir", qui ne convient pas au nom de la "maison", ni en général (comment celle-ci pourrait être conçue seulement comme lieu où l'on se couche pour dormir, cf. κοιμάω?), ni ici en particulier, où la maison est le "chez soi" et la "maisonnée". Et nous leur attribuerons une origine pronominale parce qu'ils s'appliquent à des relations d'altérité (plus ou moins institutionnalisées), non réductibles l'une à l'autre par un schéma évolutif tel que celui qui rend compte des rapports entre les divers verbes de la racine "voir"/"briller". Au plan des possibilités étymologiques, nous faisons intervenir ici la notion essentielle de relations: il faut que des termes expriment des relations explicables par les catégories pronominales, pour qu'on puisse se permettre de leur attribuer une origine pronominale, même dans le cas, qui est celui que présentent ces termes, où l'on se trouve, en apparence, devant un radical de structure verbale; c'est ce qui se passe quand on a affaire à un degré plein tel que **new-* développé sur **nu*,....

It is against this conceptual exposition that we see her (1988: 26-27 with fn. 27) addition to the list of nouns given in (1983) of Hittite *kaenant-*, *kaena*, and Greek *koinós* with the observation that the first element (*koi-*) is dative. The footnote refers to other proposed solutions cited in Tischler (1980: 459-460), yet — with this reference — she fails to discuss the similar path that Metzger (summarized by Tischler) had preceded her in. Also the footnote observation that "Le rapprochement ici proposé exclut pour *koinós* l'explication traditionnelle par **kom-yo-*" fails to make any mention of Chantraine's (1970: *s. vv.* κεάζω, κοινός, κώμη, κῶμος) consideration of Palmer's root, extracted from a Linear B perfect passive participle, **kei-* "partager" ("share"). Chantraine had alternated between being tempted by Palmer's root and being sceptical. Here it will suffice to say that Palmer's root, as with most things too good to be true, was and is a phantom (Arbeitman ms.). While the root cannot here be open to discussion, methodologically the discovery of an IE root as a verbal root only in a text with the kind of writing system that Linear B is, its ill suitability for expressing Greek, could not be a basis for a unique survival of such an IE root[3].

[3] Benveniste (1959: 61-72) demonstrated that (1) an IE radical (**k̂el-* "geler"), thought to be extant as a finite verb only in Lith., and elsewhere (including within Iranic) attested only in nominal forms, could — by rigid methods of analysis — be shown

Finally Kimball (1994: 17-22), in a section devoted to the diphthong and the philological semantics, states that "Hrozný was right" (p. 17); but her observation that "Hrozný hesitated to give *kaina-* an etymology" is, *m. s.*, a misconstruing of Hrozný's offering of the cognates, the right cognates. The hesitation's weight lies more on the pseudo-problem of the Baltic satəm and centum reflexes (discussed next section). Kimball herself (p. 20 with fn. 62) shows the philologist's conservative reluctance to make a linguistic "call" when she states: "The meanings of *kaina-* and its cognates can be explained starting from an IE *k'ei- with the general meaning 'allied', perhaps especially by marriage but not — originally at least — by blood ties" with the footnote qualification "I am making no claim about whether this *k'ei- and its derivatives had any relationship to *k'ei- 'lie'. See most recently Lehmann[...] who denies a connection". Finally (p. 21) she prefers a reconstruction of an *o* grade of this root with a suffix **-no-*, thus **k'oino-* "related". One can only say on her disclaimer of a position on the root **k̂ey-*[1] that "related" is "related", "lain" is "lain" and rarely shall the twain meet.

Thus, in actuality, Hrozný in 1919 and Kimball in 1994 have both opted for **k̂ey-*[2] if we judge by the cognates offered. In between Metzger and then Bader make a leap from the deictic to the resp. nouns, while what we term Lehmann's **k̂ey-*[2] is a root upon which the various nouns (and the adjective Greek κοινός) are built, this nominal root itself being formed from the deictic. Tischler's "ohne überzeugende Etymologie" is unwarranted. The proposal by Gamkrelidze – Ivanov (1994: 654, fn. 22 [Russian 1984: 751, fn. 1]) that "Hitt. *g/kaen-* could

to exist also as finite verb in Ossetic and, thus, in Common Iranic as a whole; (2), and this is even more germane, an IE root (**bʰagʰ-* "étendre"), thought to be extant only in nominal forms everywhere (OInd. *bāhú-*, Greek πῆχυς), could — by these same methods of analysis — be demonstrated to exist in Ossetic alone of all IE languages. The first example obviously, but the second one too was enough to establish the verbal root in question, not only for Common Iranic, but for PIE itself. And, furthermore, he demonstrates that a finite verb, only hypothesized as such (and under the assumption that it became extinct in the daughter language families), can be detected as a precious relic, the last of its kind, surviving in one or two IE languages, and in ones — in these two cases — documented first at a late stage of IE literacy.

As opposed to this success, PALMER's similar attempt to detect **kei-* "share" as a recoverable finite verb in one of the earliest documented tongues of IE literacy, Mycenaean Greek, could not and did not fulfill its analyst's hopes for it. Nevertheless, it was a fascinating case study and, while what we term **k̂ey-*[2] thus still remains but a nominal root, "a new Benveniste" may one day find it extant as a finite verb in some less well studied language. Until such time, it can only be assumption that it was once a verbal radical and not always merely a nominal root.

formally reflect PIE ***k̂'en-** [= non-glottalic IE **ĝen-*][4] 'kin, birth' if we overlook the orthographic problem of *g/ka-* instead of *g/ki-*" is as about as anti-philological as linguists get. In their zeal to read /genas/ in the Hittite (this is their accepted etymology on p. 664, fn. 36) they want to "overlook" what stands written, not in a hapax where such emendation is acceptable procedure, but in a word of frequent enough occurrence. They end up, with their cognation to Lat. *gener*, with an etymology that Tischler (1980) had noted was "prophylaktisch abgelehnt" by Walde – Hofmann. The latter had stated (*s. v. gener*) "Fern bleibt wohl heth. *gaenas, gaenanza* 'affinis'". And, if one may, even "ferner" should such aprioristic etymologizing as reflected in such bold "overlooking" of reality remain. If Kimball was cautious where no need existed, Gamkrelidze – Ivanov can only convince philologists that linguistics is a non-science.

III. Germanic "Maternal Uncle"

Since both Bader and Metzger, two of the chief players in the previous section, deal — very differently one from another — with this infamous item, we will briefly consider it here. Bader (1988: 35 with fn. 55), noting that the second member of the Germanic reconstruction she subscribes to, **aunhaimaz*, "est discuté", cites Feist and notes that amongst the interpretations of **haimaz* there are "< **koimos* de la racine de skr. *cā́yati* 'honorer'; **koimos*, cf. *v. irl. cóem, cóim* 'cher' ou cf. all. *Heim*, finalement du même radical (pronominal) que ce dernier (cf. n. 27)". Without rehearsing all the hypostasized phrases that have been proposed as the etymon of this Germanic noun, the one that has to be dispensed with altogether is that which Feist cites comparing the OIndic and Greek "honor" words. Not only is it the most excludible of all proposals, but the stem would have to be **k^woimo-* (with labiovelar, not as Feist gave it and Bader repeated it; cf.

[4] Whenever symbols become polyvalent, confusion is introduced. So, to state the obvious, the "apostrophe" following the *k-* does not signify the same feature of the phoneme in GAMKRELIDZE – IVANOV and KIMBALL. In the former it indicates that the consonant is [+glottalic]. In KIMBALL's usage, or rather the usage of *Die Sprache*, it indicates that the consonant is [+palatal]. The root proposed by the former is C_1 [+velar, +palatal, +glottal] V [*e*] C_2 [dental nasal] (or [+dental, +nasal]), thus ***k̂'en-**. The root proposed by the latter and by everyone else (irrespective of whether they conceive it as "lie" or as "be near, related") is C_1 [+velar,+palatal] V [*o* grade] C_2 [palatal glide /y/], thus ***k̂ey-**, *o* grade **k̂oi-**(+ **-no-**).

Lehmann [1986:53]). Metzger (1960b), dispensing with the standard cited proposals, states the meaning to be "der die Heimstätte des Großvaters mütterlicherseits hat". This bahuvrīhī compound differs from "who dwells with the grandfather" and such. It proposes the maternal uncle as the successor of the maternal grandfather as protector of his sister and nephews (and nieces, presumably). Startling in our context, where we have seen Metzger precede Bader in proposing Hittite *kaena-* as a direct construction on the deictic stem, Metzger's proposal for the well-known list of Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic nouns with *-m* suffix to the root in question is other directed. For these he says (p. 297) that "Der Ausgangpunkt ist vielmehr 'der Platz', an dem mehrere Personen wohnen, die Heimstätte der Sippe, der Familie", got. *haims* 'Dorf, κώμη'...." He continues (p. 299) "So gehört *kŏi-mi* zur Wurzel *kei-* 'liegen'" and from this root he derives the nouns, Goth. *heiwa-(frauja)* "Hausherr", Keltic **kei-liyos* "Genoße, Gatte", OGutnish *hiskepr*, OIce. *hȳbȳli* n. pl. "Hauswesen"; in other words, the Keltic and Germanic other than *-m* suffixed words.

This is an amazing turn of events in view of his *kaena-* proposal and, just as much, other terms of relationship which he derives from adverbial elements quite in the fashion that Bader was to propose.

But this view of Metzger's, that some of the "near and dear" terms are derivatives of the word as "the dwelling place" finds its semantic and radical analogue in Current (USA, inner-city) terminology: those of one's "clan, tribe", one's gang fellows of the neighbourhood (referred to as "the 'hood") are (more formally) known as one's *homeboys*, (less formally and more commonly) as one's *homeys*. This would be nothing less than a renewal of the IE **k̂ei-* terms of relationship and co-citizenship, etc., rebuilt (?) on "the dwelling place".

IV. The Multiple Proposed and Disposed Radicals

It is of interest to note that whereas Metzger bifurcated the **k̂ei-* "liegen" words into those directly from the verbal root "to lie" and those from the noun "the homestead" (further separating Hittite *kaena-* alone as being directly from the adverb/deictic "here"), Watkins (*AHDIER* and *AHD*[3], "Indo-European Roots Appendix"), gives all the **k̂ei-* words, as far as they occur in NE, *s. r.* **k̂ei-* "To lie; bed, couch; beloved, dear" with the sole exception of the etymon of NE *home* itself

which he reconstructs as **(t)k̂oimo- s.r. *tk̂ei-*[5] "to settle, dwell, be home" (one is less than certain whether "home" is predicate/stative or adverbial ["locative"] here). Thus, he subsumes the Germanic noun under the root of Greek κτίσις, OIndic *kṣiti-, kṣema-*, Latin *situs*, Armenian *šēn* (derivatives of the Gk. and the Latin occur in NE). *V. infra* for a (1902) reference to this connection. Thus, for Watkins there is no radical connection whatsoever between "*home*" and the words for "fellow family members, fellow citizens" and the Germanic is assumed to have undergone a simplification phonetically similar to that assumed e.g. for Latin. It may also be mentioned in passing that the radical **kʷeiə-*[2] "to rest, be quiet" has been suggested for "*home*" by Fick (see Feist p. 534, *s. v. haims*). Thus we have to do with the following radicals for any of the above discussed words, (1) **k̂ey-*[1] [a] "lie; [b] dear"; (2) **k̂ey-*[2] "be related"; (3) **kʷeiə-*[1] "to honor, put a value on, punish"; (4) **kʷeiə-*[2] "to rest, be quiet, pass time"; (5) **tk̂ey-* "to settle, reside, etc."; (6) Palmer's abortive **kei-* (I leave this in Palmer's transcription with *-i* rather than *-y*); (7) Bezzenberger's (1902:168) **kōi-, koi-, kī* "gesellen, sich schaaren", created to cover the long diphthongs of certain of the Greek and Baltic words as well as the velar (non-palatal reflex) Baltic centum words referred to above. Whatever reasons Bezzenberger had to create his, let us say, **key-* vs. **k̂ey-*, one cannot deny that it covers much of the territory of what we term Lehmann's **k̂ey-*[2] as well as anticipating Palmer's **kei-* which is cited as (more or less) enticing by Chantraine under four lexical entries. With the exception of the bifurcation that Bezzenberger both wanted and needed, we might as well refer to Bezzenberger's radical rather than Lehmann's. Hirt (1899: 235) had written:

[5] In spite of a strict policy of quoting each author as exactly as I am able to, each with his own preferences, I have inserted the palatal sign over the roots from *AHDIER* and this for the simple reason that I do not think that the neglect of these is WATKINS' preference. One must take into account that, though this is the most up to date IE etymological dictionary we have (with the constriction that given Greek or Latin, etc., items must have a NE derivative to appear), as a mass market book, it makes certain concessions to "vulgarity" such as the interweaving of plain labials, labiovelars, and palatals, with the last not marked by a diacritic. Likewise it interweaves plain voiced and voiced aspirates as though the feature [+aspiration] were an alphabetic letter. From the time of the "Appendix" to *AHD*[1] (1969), on which the present author had a job as an in-house etymologist, this work has never been sure whether it was a scholarly reference work or a popular audience, mass appeal, gimmick in its "Appendix of IE Roots". Indubitably, WATKINS' control has become dominant in the substance of *AHDIER* and in the "Appendix" to *AHD*[3], but decisions like those referred to in this note have remained with the redaction.

27. ai. *çivás* 'freundlich, hold, günstig, heilsam' daneben *çḗvas* 'lieb, hold, wert, teuer', lat. *cīvis*, got. *heiwa-frauja* 'gatte', air. *cīa* 'mann, gatte', und weiter apr. *seimīns*, lit. *szeimýna* 'hausgesinde', lett. *saime* 'gesinde'. Gehört weiterhin got. *haims*, lit. *kḗmas*, das auch entlehnt sein könnte, hierher, so haben wir wechsel von verschlusslaut und spirant [the /s/, /ʃ/ type of outcome].

On p. 286, however, Hirt rejects this obvious solution:

Sehr verlockend ist es lit. *kḗmas*, preuss. *caymis* 'dorf', lit. *kaimýnas* 'nachbar' zu lit. *szeimýna*, preuss. *seimīns*, lett. *saime* 'gesinde' zu stellen. Sieht man aber weiter zu, so gehört lit. *kḗmas*, *káimas* wohl zu gr. κῴμη [*sic*], got. *haims*, und ob von diesen ai. *kshēma-* getrennt werden kann, ist fraglich. Jedenfalls aber erweisen gr. κῴμη, lit. *káimas* einen idg. langdiphthong und wie sich zu diesem *ei* in *szeimýnas* verhalten sollte, ist wiederum unklar.

In inspecting the theory as presented by Hirt and Bezzenberger (resp. 1899 and 1902) the concurrence of today's lexicography and etymology with the inclusion of a given lexeme is of little importance. In the case of the latter the material relegated by the author to the footnotes will be ignored here. The juxtaposition of Bezzenberger's (1902: 168) analysis to the words of Hirt just quoted will fill out the picture, to our profit:

Lit. *kaikaras* "horde, haufe" (Geitler Lit. stud. s. 89) und lett. *zîku* "truppweise" (*zîkůt* "wimmeln") schliessen sich begrifflich so eng an lit. *kaímenė* "herde", dass zusammengehörigkeit dieser wörter anzunehmen ist. Von *kaímenė* lassen sich aber anderseits lit. *kḗmas* "hof, dorf", lett. *zîms* "dorf" (auch "versammlungshaus der herrenhuter") nicht trennen, und dass hierzu mit recht got. *haims*, an. *heimr* u. s. w. und gr. κώμη "dorf" gestellt werden, ergibt das nebeneinander von *haims* und an. *Þingheimr* "die ganze beim thing anwesende versammlung", von κώμη und κῶμος "gelage, grosser Zug, schwarm". Beide verhältnisse entsprechen dem von *kḗmas* zu *kaímenė* (*kaikaras, zîku*). Dagegen wird κώμη ohne not von κῶμος losgerissen, sobald man es zu lit. *szeimýna* "gesinde" u. s. w. stellt (Zupitza Gutturale s. 49, vgl. Grienberger a. o. s. 105).

Da baltisches *ai* in mehreren fällen (z. b. lit. *kḗmas: apikaimė*, *kaimýnas* ...) als vr̥ddhi von *ë* auftritt, so kann als wurzel der behandelten wörter *kōi: koi: kī* "gesellen, sich schaaren" aufgestellt werden, und unmittelbar hieraus kann κοινός "gemeinsam" erwachsen sein. [Aber es scheint mir trotz J. Schmidt Sonantentheorie s. 120, 147 auch erwogen werden zu müssen, ob κοινός nicht etwa aus *κοιμνός (vgl. *kaímenė*) hervorgegangen ist. (Weitere anknüpfungspunkte bieten vielleicht skr. *cinóti* "aneinanderreihen, schichten, sammeln", asl. *činiti* "componere".)]

Bezzenberger was on the right track, the track to "Lehmann's *$\hat{k}ey$-[2]", but with the addition of the centum: satəm Gutturalwechsel which is argued in the next section. The fact that he wanders off track in the

section I have bracketed and all the more in the section I have parenthesized within the brackets in no way diminishes the acuity of his perspective.

V. The Baltic Reciprocal Pronoun

Since 1981 (Arbeitman 1981: 917ss., 1991: 25-26, 1993: *passim*, and ms. *in extenso*), I have advocated the derivation of the Baltic reciprocal pair **kita- ... kita-* (as well as the adj. **kita-* "other/different", as always goes with such pairs) from the IE *ego* deictic **k̂o-/k̂i-*. This view entailed the recognition of a split somewhere between Pre-Baltic IE and Proto-Baltic whereby the regular satəm reflex > Baltic **šita-* "this", whereas the pronoun resulting from Gutturalwechsel > a "centum" twin (originally) with the connotation "this one" (in opposition, whether reciprocal or contrastive, to "this [other] one").

This much was in the 1981, 1991, and 1993 articles. In the major study (ms.), I proceed — under Lehmann's influence — to propose that, yes, it was not to be denied that the Baltic **kita-* was intimately related to the *ego* deictic (**kita- ... kita-* was thus closely akin to Anatolian **ko- ... ko-*), but beyond this — as Lehmann had originally suggested (*v. supra*) — the deictic itself was closely related to √**k̂ey-*[2] and its many relational words.

If now it eventuates that this is the root also of Luwian *zita-/ziti-* as Melchert (1993: *s.v.*) suggests for the Luwian word, then — whatever be the yet to be given full degree of morphological analysis — the Luwian word, precisely like the Baltic one, is something of the nature of "reciprocal being" in origin. With such a circumstance, we have for the Baltic (a) a much more significant semantic fit within the typology of reciprocals (cf. Arbeitman 1993: *passim*) and (b) what at least appears superficially as a phonological irony: Anatolian "satəm" *ziti-*: Baltic "centum" **kita-* (semantically Baltic **šita-* has diverged too much to affect this peculiarity of appearance).

VI. Brythonic Keltic **ki-tu-* More or Less

Early Welsh *cyt*, later *c/gyd*, Old Corn. *chet-*, Mid. Corn. *kes-* (< **ket-*), Mid. Bret. *quet*, etc. (1) show a common Pan-Brythonic noun, adj., prefix — as the case may require —, (2) whose common semantic essence

"union, common, co-" resp., bears a strong, but deceptive, likeness to, e.g., Welsh *cyf*, etc., cognate to Latin *com-*, etc., and (3) has been the despair of etymological dictionaries and comparative grammars since our industry first obtained grease on its gears.

Its most pervasive use is as a noun frozen in complex preposition, e.g., Welsh (with small spelling changes from earliest attestation till the present day) (*y*) *cyt ac* "with" ("in union with"); adj., most notably in the legal term *tir cyd* "common land", preverb in New Welsh *cyd=eistedd* "sit together", New Corn. *kes-vewa* "zusammenleben", Mid. Corn. *kes-colon* "with one/united heart", Old Corn. *chet=ua* "conuentus uel conuentio". Having given the Cornish examples in reverse chronological order, a divergence to Breton is necessary before returning to Cornish: New Bret. *quet-breuzr* "confrère". Breton, in the form of Middle Breton, shares with Cornish the frozen idiom, Corn. *ket-tep* (= *ket* + *hep*), Bret. *quitib*. The common first element *ket-/quit-* derives from Mid. Welsh *gyt*, and the compound as a whole means "every" = "all", from "together/with" + "what-/who-soever".

1913 saw the publication of both of the important etymological proposals, that of Pedersen (1913, II: 213) — to be repeated, unchanged, in Lewis – Pedersen (1937: 234) — and that of Jones (1913: 264). Pedersen's proposal, tentatively made, was to connect the Brythonic word-root with [the second element in] Lat. *cunctus* "all", deriving the latter from an original morphological configuration **com-citos*, associative prefix + allegedly **our** root, in Latin semantically "schnell, gleich bei der Hand" (= "fast, right at hand", etc., see EM[4]: *s.v. cieo*). Not a useful or problem-solving etymology.

Jones' suggestion came as close as would be feasible for another 72 years thereafter. He proposed: "The word seems to be a verbal noun **ki-tu-* from √**k̂ei̯-* 'lie', cf. Ml. W. *kyt gwr* ... 'cohabitation with a man': Gk. κεῖται 'lies', O.E. *hǣman* 'lie with, espouse,' O.H.G. *hīwo* 'husband', E. *home*, W. *cu* ['beloved'], Lat. *cīvis* ...".

The next major key to the solution of a Brythonic problem comes 71 years later (not the "another 72 years" just referred to)[6].

[6] In chronological order: 71 years (1913-1984) refers, in the sum, to the publication of MANN's after that of JONES' (*v. infra*); 72 years (1913-1985) refers to the same relationship between JONES' and LEHMANN's, while 74 bears that relationship between JONES' and GUSMANI's.

It goes without saying that I can only use the printed publication dates and often these bear some, but less than exact, narration of the facts. In the case of MANN's I used the 1984 of the 1984-1987 official dates of appearance of the fascicles and I have not pursued in what fascicle the items in question originally appeared. Similarly, for GUSMANI's I have

In his rambling and desultory IE dictionary of (1984-1987), the late Stuart Mann — often dismissed for ideas which are beyond the pale — still quite often was on the tracks that lead to the truth and, when not directly on such tracks, offering ideas that stimulate others to synthesize the solution. And somewhere between these two roads lies his proposals on the Brythonic word for him who has the perseverance to follow back and forth from and to pp. 606, 617, 619, 620, often under separate and disconnected lemmata, etc. Mann gave a basic root **k̂i-* adv. "this way...", extended stem **k̂it-*: Lat. *citra-*, *citimus* "on the side; (the) nearest, soonest, closest, and [permit me] '(the) here-est'". Along with this Latin pair, Mann gives Germanic: Go. *hidrē*, OE *hider* "hither". While he gives various degrees of credulity to three Welsh *cyd*'s, as he divides them, our item he registers as: "W.?*cyda*,... *gyda* 'with'".

And, while this root **k̂i-* (p. 617) yields **k̂is-*, **k̂id-* "this, here" as well as the adv. **k̂ei-* "here, there, hither, thither" (p. 606), his **k̂ĭt-* is glossed "lain, lying, site" < the root **k̂ei-* "to lie, fall".

As noted at the end of I. above, Lehmann had already "spun" the numerous items which compose **k̂ey-*[2] around the spool of "here". If we translate Mann's suggestion for *cyd* from **k̂ey-*[1] "to lie" into **k̂ey-*[2] "to be in reciprocal relations with", we get (1) a fit with the deictic and associated adverbs, (2) a tight pairing of Brythonic **cyt* as the bridge between the two members seen in Baltic **kita-* ... *kita-*, and (3) a more reasonable explanation for Jones' Mid. Welsh expression *kyt gwr*, while (4) the Baltic neatly forms a set with Latin *cis*, *citer(us)*, *citimus*, with **kita-* between *cis* and *citer(us)* morphologically.

In summary: Jones' item was both morphologically and phonologically on target. For obvious reasons, he had to justify the semantics inherent in that item. Mann did not specify any exact morphological shape; his phonology was fine, and his semantics were narrowing in on the essential. The application of Lehmann's **k̂ey-*[2] supplies the necessary semantics. The present paper and its author have undertaken in this section VI to extract the contributory ingredients from each of these

arbitrarily employed the 1987 of the printed 1987-1988. While many publications are long delayed (including the present one), MANN's final product shows the decades, the lifetime, over which it was generated. Lacking the author's working notes, we can only cite the printed date in any given work.

75 years, in a different area of this paper, also separates HROZNÝ's etymology of *kaena-* from KIMBALL's analysis of the diphthong involved.

scholars and, while ignoring the missteps, to commingle the achievements of each into the present conclusion.

Finally, under the substitution of the more appropriate *k̂ey-^{2}, the Mid. Welsh *kyt gwr*, rendered by Jones as "cohabitation with a man" — very much like the etymology that Gusmani would propose 74 years later for Luwian *ziti-* as "husband" —, we obtain the result that the etymology of Jones' phrase is, self-evidently not "(man) copulation" < literal "(man) lying". It is rather "(man) union", "([with] man), (in) relation(ship) (with)".

The use of this noun, as seen in the very common prepositional phrase *y gyd ac* "into (con)junction with": "together with", as an other-than part of such a prepositional phrase, still leaves it definitionally as "union, junction (in/having) relation(s) [with]", relations, which may well have the connotation "sexual relations" ("cohabitation") in this or that context. Nevertheless, both etymologically and denotationally, there is no question that its basis is "(reciprocal) relations" as in the frozen prepositional phrase. "Lying" does not partake in the picture at all. Only in this perspective of *k̂ey-^{2} do the several disparate usages have a fulcrum, and, in this comprehension of the usages, n. "junction", prep. phrase with *cyt*, adj. as "common", does this assortment obtain its only possible place in the scheme of things.

VII. Conclusion

As for the radicals considered in Section IV above: (1) [b] = (2) semantically and no one denies this; the only disagreement is how the meanings of [b] came about. (2) derives from deictic adverbial "here", not from "lie". All the IE relationship terms including the Hittite and the Luwian ones discussed are stems built to (2). (3) and (4), the labiovelar roots, are simply not players in any of the nouns, pronouns, verbs considered herein. (5) Watkins' alternative, mentioned *en passant* by Hirt (1899), is an acceptable alternative, certainly semantically in the want of sufficient, or any, Germanic phonemic analogues. (6) Palmer's is a worthy try, but one not borne out. (7) Uncannily correct meaning for most of our words, much more correct than "lie" could ever have been or is. *k̂ey-^{2}, however, has **both** in the Baltic nouns adduced and in the Baltic pronouns added by Arbeitman (*operibus citatis*) **both** centum and satəm reflexes.

Although the Anatolian languages have enriched us immensely and the work on them done both philologically and linguistically sometimes

alters the older picture of IE, in the present case, the most significant work was done a century ago. It is too often neglected today. From Anatolian we need only reemphasize that Luwic *ziti-* is not denominated for his "virilità", but for his societal membership/relationship. The later specialization in one Late Luwic language (to the extent that the data allow such a broad conclusion) spotlights the denomination on his marital/family membership/relationship. But this cannot be viewed as another or an alternate basis for the derivation of the word for this Late Luwic attestation is but a semantic extension of "the male person" (see next section).

VIII. Addendum

Gusmani (1994) revisits Lycian *sidi-* — this time in German — and concludes: "... es entfällt auch die Notwendigkeit, lyk. *sidi-* semantisch anders als seine offensichtliche luvische Entsprechung *ziti-* 'Mann' aufzufassen". That is to say that, while the Luwian means "man/male person", the Lycian means "husband", resp. German "Mann" and "(Ehe)mann". This is a non-problem. If the word meant "male person" in the early Common Luwic and remained so in attested Cuneiform Luwian and was then specialized in Late Luwic, as we have it attested in Lycian, this is no great semantic step. The history of **manu* in various dialects and stages of Germanic shows at least this much. In the opposite direction, I may note the replacement in recent years (at least in the United States) of the English expression "man and wife", as used in the marriage ceremony. This change, effectuated by sociological forces, unable to come to grips with the language's heritage of *man* in its various acceptations, (1) "human being/person" (as opposed to "other animals" or to "divine beings"), (2) "male human being" (as opposed to "female human being", *woman*) and "husband" (as opposed to "wife"). Sociological forces, often referred to as "political correctness", have caused the lexical replacement of the item in the expression with the result of the currently used replacement "husband and wife". Since the Luwic term seems to have shared only two of the three meanings of the Germanic and English word *man*, namely "male human being" and "husband" — not the sense of "human being/person" — the semantic distinction between Luwian and Lycian is a very mild one indeed.

[Added in proofs: With reference to the alternate derivation of Gmc. **haimaz* < IE **t̂k̂oi-mo-* (root **t̂k̂ey-*), codified by WATKINS in *AHD*³ and *AHDIER* (pp. 8-9 above), proposed, in another schema, earlier for Old Indic *kṣema-* with Baltic cognates, by HIRT (pp. 10, 14 above), see now a definitive refutation of such an etymon for Gmc., allowing only for the radical assignment of the Gmc. lexeme to **k̂ey-*, by N. OETTINGER (1996), "Die Wortbildung von deutsch *Heim*", in: W. KÖNIG – L. ORTNER (edd.), *Sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum älteren und neueren Deutsch* (= *Festschrift H. Wellmann*), Heidelberg, pp. 207-212. The author defines the radix **k̂ey-* as "liegen", but I accept OETTINGER's evidence to apply to our **k̂ey-*² "be of the family" (*sensu lato*). I am beholden to the author for sending me this article.]

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ON PRONOUNS

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1. Morphology: 1.1. C(V); 1.2. accent; 1.3. agglutinations.
2. Chains and agglutinations: 2.1. chains in the sentence; 2.2. pronominal agglutinations.
3. Inflection: 3.1. uninflected particles (*enim*, etc.) and anaphoric coreferents (νιν, etc.); 3.2. emergence of the pronominal inflection; 3.3. genitives-adjectives; 3.4. nominative and the organisation of the inflection.
4. Pronominal categories and functions (syntactic and categorial ones).
5. Anaphora and deixis: anaphora and cataphora: 5.1. in nominal enumerations; 5.2. in paratactic utterance; 5.3. in connection between speech and narration; 5.4. in clause and sentence.
6. Emphasis, particles and marked order of words: 6.1. various systems; 6.2. in nominal syntagms; 6.3. in sentence: 6.3.1. particle and anaphoric pronoun; 6.3.2. anaphoric pronoun without particle; 6.3.3. cataphoric pronoun.
7. Deixis as the category of space-time: 7.1. far-deixis, near-deixis, undifferentiated deixis; 7.2. deictic interjections, lative postpositive particles, and lative prepositions and conjunctions; 7.3. other examples of undifferentiated deixis; 7.4. personal deictics and personal pronouns.
8. Person-otherness: 8.1. anaphora and the undifferentiation as to person; 8.2. deixis and the undifferentiation as to number; 8.3. oneself and the other; 8.4. lexicalizations.
9. Principles of pronominal etymology: 9.1. asemantism; 9.2. antidotes; 9.3. semantic analysis of the agglutinations.
10. Morpho-syntactic and etymological peculiarities of the pronouns.

1. In IE languages, there are three classes of signs: verbs, nouns and pronouns, i.e. all that remains except onomatopeic words. Pronouns differ from forms built upon verbal roots (verbs and nouns) in many respects: morphology, grammatical categories, functions, semantics, etymological principles.

Concerning **morphology**, three points are to be emphazised first:

1.1. pronouns have a typical *radical structure C(V)*, either without any vowel, or with any vowel: for example, from **ne*, **n* (Gk. ἔλιπε-ν/Hitt. *n-as)*, **na* (Lat. *na-m*), **ne* (ὅ-νε), **ni* (Phryg. and Pamph. *ni*), **no* (O.Ir. *no-* verbal particle), **nu* (Hittite conjunction *nu*), with long vowels Gk. νή, ὁ-νΐ, νώ ("both of us"), etc. The vocalisms are not morphologically pertinent: **ne* or **no* is not the full grade of **n*: a full grade

appears only in derivatives built upon a pronominal stem in *i* or *u*: **nu* "now"→**new-o-* "new"; **ni* "downwards"→ νει-(Ϝ)ός "fallow-land", etc.;

1.2. they may be *accentuated* or not;

1.3. they provide many *agglutinations*. Their agglutinating morphology contrasts with what we are usually taught about the inflectional character of IE languages; it has many uses.

2.1. One of them appears at the beginning of the sentence and consists of chains of an accentuated constituent and following enclitics, for instance in Anatolian:

Hitt.	*nu* copulative conjunction	*-wa(r)* particle introducing discourse	*-as* pronoun in direct case	*-si* pronoun in indirect case	*-za* reflexive particle	*-kan* categorial particle
Luw.	*a*	*-wa*	*-ti* reflexive particle	*-du* indirect case	*-as* direct case	*-tar*

In such chains, the order of the pronominal stems is fixed in any given language, but may vary between two languages (so, between the coreferents in Hittite and Luwian). Of course, one or more of the constituents may be lacking in a given sentence.

2.2. Another use of agglutination provides particles and/or pronouns. Sometimes, we see that they arose from a *petrified sentence-chain*:

a) Gk. νυ κε(ν); ἀ-τάρ. What is more important here than the lack of some of the constituents (which may happen in the Anatolian sentence, as I said), is the fact that, when petrified, such agglutinations can no longer be analysed into different functional elements;

b) the state of affairs is both similar and different in the case of:

Ved. *sá/tá- u* petrified into:

Av. *hau*, Ved. *a-sáu*, demonstratives of remote deixis in languages with a twofold deixis, for far and near; in Greek, a language with a threefold (personal) deixis,

Gk. οὗτος specifies the remote deixis as that of the 2nd p., by agglutinating οὐ- and -το-, from **te*, a stem specialized for that person, as we shall see later; but in this agglutination οὐ- can no longer be analysed on a synchronic level.

I shall study deixis more carefully later. Now, I shall begin to deal with what constitutes a pair with it, anaphora, the basic category of the whole pronominal system. *Anaphora* and *deixis* are diametrically opposed as to the inflection, grammatical categories, functions, semantics: deixis has given marked forms, anaphora unmarked ones, first of all concerning inflection.

3. Like agglutination, the **inflectional status** of the pronoun contrasts with the inflectional character usually ascribed to the IE languages, and which is specific only to verbs and nouns.

3.1. For, alongside complete paradigms of personal and deictic pronouns, there are two sets of uninflected forms: particles, which have neither coreferential function, nor — as a corollary — a unique case, and anaphoric pronouns, with a coreferential function, whence all case functions, except the nominative.

In fact, particles (like *et*, *enim*, Osc. ÍNÍM "and", νυ (κεν), ἀτάρ) and anaphoric pronouns (like νιν, sole form for all numbers, persons and cases) have a common syntactic function, which is to relate a syntactic unit with what precedes. But particles may have non-anaphoric functions (modal ones or preverbial ones, for instance), while anaphoric pronouns may not; and the latter, as opposed to particles, refer generally to nouns, so that the anaphoric pronouns acquired an inflection from their connection with nouns, by their own means however.

3.2. The first step in the emergence of the pronominal inflection from forms with anaphoric uses is the passage from particle to pronoun. As regards the forms, the one and the other may differ slightly (*k^we/*k^wi-, νιν/*enim*). But what is much more important is the fact that they diverge on a syntactic level, because the pronouns have the case functions of accusative, dative, genitive, in a single form (like the particle from which they arose): I call this case form "*minimal paradigm*". Second, direct and indirect cases were differentiated, hence a paradigm with distinct accusative and genitive-dative (*e.g.* σφε/σφι). Third, dative and genitive were differentiated: a true genitive was obtained by agglutination of a particle to the stem either of the accusative (**me-so*: μου, etc.) or of an indirect case (as *$m^e/_o$-i*, itself built by agglutination upon the minimal paradigm, and restricted to the dative function after the development of the genitive: Goth. *mei-na*). Both cases, direct and indirect, appear in possessive adjectives, as *tuus*, *suus* (built on the direct case), *meus* (built on the indirect case), and in genitive: not only **me-so* or

mei-na, but also Latin genitives as *k^w*oi-yo* > *cuius* (with morphological redetermination by nominal *-s*); cf. beside *cuius*, and *cuius, a, um*, Osc. PÚIIU "cuia", Gk. ποῖος, etc.

3.3. As shown by the latter, adjectives may arise from a genitive by a process of grammaticalization, sometimes with an inflectional use, sometimes — more often — with a derivative one, the pronominal suffixes denoting then appurtenance-determination: e.g. from **-l* (Hittite pronominal genitive), *-li-*, genitive-adjective in Lydian, suffix in the Latin types *Pompi-lius, flōr-ā-lis, er-ī-lis*; in the complex form of the latter, a formal scission expresses the two values originally conjoined in the single pronominal morpheme: the denominative suffix, *-ā-, -ī-* denotes appurtenance, while the adjectivized pronominal morpheme denotes determination (*e.g. erīlis* "the [that] of the master"), rather like in other syntagms (cf. § 6.2.).

We have not to be surprised if a pronominal stem may join an inflected form: there is a great deal of evidence for such a fact, e.g. the secondary cases of Tokharian inflection; or the lative Gk. οἶκόν-δε; or the thematic genitive in **-os-yo*, in which the same particle as in **(k^woi-)yo* is added to a nominal genitive in **-os*, which, without it, is homophonic with the nominative (cf. Hitt. *arunaš*, nominative and genitive); or some of the lexicalisations which we shall see later, as O.H.G. *swein* "servant", beside Goth. *sei-na.*

Quite another problem concerns the pronominal nominative. Theoretically, it is never necessary, as the subject is included in the verbal ending, and/or may be a noun in the 3rd. p.; therefore, when expressed, it has more than a case function: an emphatic property which is, so to say, outside the paradigm itself. That is why in a system in which inflectional means are not endings, but differentiated vocalisms (σφε/σφι) and/or agglutinations (*sē-d/si-bī*), the nominative is marked by a stem quite different from the stem of the non-subject cases: ὁ/τό-; ἐγώ/με; ἐγώ, being emphatic, is always accented whence perhaps ἐμέ, etc.; however, OIrish emphasizing personal particles are enclitic. Be that as it may, pronominal and nominal inflections differ from the start; later, the pronominal one will be more and more influenced by nominal inflection in the ever-increasing number of its cases.

4. Like inflection, **pronominal categories** arose from anaphora; at an archaic level, we may not dissociate the grammatical categories and functions. I shall now try to study how these categories and functions are

linked together in a system which is very significant for the abstract character of IE thought.

While the proper function of anaphora is to relate syntactic units (words, nominal syntagms, clauses in a sentence, sentences in an utterance), all pronominal stems (particles and pronouns) are signs of relations. They are of two kinds. On the one hand, pronouns are signs of syntactical relations; and their categories are anaphora and what developed as opposed to it, deixis, in the utterance which goes with linearity in time. On the other hand, pronouns refer to the speaker's relations with the world, concerning the two most important data from an existential point of view: space-time and person-otherness (*I* am *here* with *you now*). These **categorial relations** are imposed by the objective situation of the subject in the world; they are to be completed by **subjective categorial functions** related to what is uncertain. I shall set aside the latter (indefinite and interrogative pronouns and particles, modal particles, particles of speech, as Lat. *forsan*, *nempe*, etc.); and I shall study chiefly the other pronominal categories and functions, syntactic and categorial, by emphasizing the fundamental part played by anaphora, and thence by deixis.

Anaphora sides with *deixis*. Concerning both, I will first mention that they are not quite parallel; anaphora has only an articular function in the utterance, a function of connection with what precedes, sometimes realized by repetition; anaphora never has any categorial function; deixis has an articular function, too, with what succeeds, a function which I shall call *cataphora*; and it has a categorial function, for space-time, the only one for which I use the term "*deictic*"; in a third function, it is rhematic: I call it "*emphasis*".

5. I first quote examples of *articular anaphora and cataphora*, with varying places of the pronominal stem, at the beginning of the syntactic unit in the case of cataphora, at the end in the case of anaphora.

5.1. I begin with nominal syntagms, which are enumerations: Ved. *náktā ca uṣásā*, with "inverted" *ca* in cataphoric use (after the first word); *pater māter-que*, with final *-que* in anaphoric use; both places and functions in *pater-que māter-que*.

5.2. The situation is similar in paratactic utterance: — inverted *ca* in cataphoric function: *agníś ca yán maruto viśvavedaso | divo váhadhva úttarād ádhi ṣnúbhiḥ* "when, O Agni and you Maruts, who know everything, are driven from a higher part of the sky through the mountains"

(RV V 60, 7), etc.; — anaphoric *ca* at the end: *ā́ devébhir yāhi yákṣi ca* "come with the gods and sacrifice"; — and iterative *ca*, repetition being equivalent, in an utterance, to nominal enumeration: *párā ca yánti púnar ā́ ca yanti* "they go away and come again".

5.3. A similar situation, too, when a pronominal particle, like Skr. *íti* or Hitt. *-wa(r)-*, connects narration and speech: — cataphoric place of *íti*: *ví pr̥cchad* **íti** *mātáram, ká ugrā́ḥ* "he asked his mother: 'who are the strong ones'?"; — anaphoric position: *jyeṣṭhá āha camasā́ dvā́ karā* **iti** "the eldest said: 'I will make two cups'"; — iterative *-wa(r)-*: *nu araḫzenaš* KUR.KUR [LÚ]KÚR *kiš-šan memir* ABU.ŠU-**wa**-*šši kuiš* LUGAL KUR *Ḫatti ešta nu*-**war**-*aš* UR.SAG-*iš* LUGAL-*uš ešta* "and the enemies of the surrounding lands spoke thus: 'His father, who was king of Hatti, was a heroic king...'".

5.4. And a similar situation, lastly, in the subordinated sentence, with particles of protasis (*śa yádi ná vindánti kím ā́ driyeran* "now if they do not find it, why should they mind?"); of apodosis (Xen., *Hell.* 4,1,33, εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω..., ὑμεῖς *δὲ* διδάξατέ με); or of both, with iteration: Hes., *Op.* 363, ὅς *δ'* ἐπ' ἐόντι φέρει, ὁ *δ'* ἀλέξεται αἴθοπα λιμόν. That is the basic system for *correlation*, with conjunctions or inflected pronouns in hypotactic sentences, where both orders appear: either the principal clause first, or protasis before apodosis (the subordinated clause being anaphoric in the first case, cataphoric in the second).

6. In other cases, deixis is used for *emphasis*.

6.1. There are several systems here. First, a particle may emphasize a word, without a marked order of words (Z 479 πατρός *γ'* ὅδε πόλλον ἀμείνων). Second, emphasis may be expressed both by a particle and a marked order of words; there are two cases here: the particle has either an emphatic, not a connecting function, as in epexegetic syntagms (Eur., *I.A.* 1454, πατέρα τὸν ἀμὸν μὴ στύγει, πόσιν *γε* σόν), or a connecting function; I shall distinguish here as above between nominal syntagms and sentences.

6.2. In the first case, a pronominal stem is used when an adjective (normally preceding the substantive) is placed after it; the particle and/or pronoun is placed then either between adjective and substantive (Av. *sūne yim pasuš. haurve* "for the guard dog"; Skr. *víśve marúto yé sahásaḥ* "all the M., the powerful ones"), or at the end (*sā́ rā́trī páritakmyā yā* "this night, the waning one"), like a Slavic determinated

adjective (*novo-je vino*): this marked order of words with a relative particle is an expression of *determination*.

6.3. Sentences, on the other hand, may provide a marked order of words, and, as a consequence, a use of pronominal stems, particles and/or pronouns, either anaphoric or cataphoric, and, in the first case, either infixed or suffixed.

6.3.1. In Lyc. *ebeñne χupa me-ne prñnawat(ẽ)* X ... "this grave, X built it", the object when placed at the beginning of the sentence, is connected with the other constituents of this sentence, verb and inverted subject, by two anaphorics: a particle, *me-*, and a pronoun, *-ne*, which is infixed between the particle and the verb. The pronoun may provide a minimal paradigm, as in this example, or it may be a neuter by a remembrance of this archaic situation, as in the subsequent Hittite example which provides a particle and an infixed pronoun: (Laroche, *D.L.L.* p. 146) *nu* SALŠU.GI *kuit* 1 NINDA *aan* DUGKUKUB KAS-*ya ḫarzi* **n-at** ANA EN.SISKUR.SISKUR *para epzi* "the hot bread and the pitcher of beer that the old woman holds, she offers them ("it") to the master of the ritual".

6.3.2. Other ancient languages may provide an anaphoric pronoun, without any particle, as English does in "the Maruts, the powerful *ones*" or "this grave, X. built *it*", with an anaphoric pronoun, and a pause marked in the writing by a comma, instead of the particle. It is the case in Old Irish, which, like Hittite, provides examples of a neuter infixed pronoun referring to a preceding noun of different gender (Thurneysen, *G.O.I.* §421): *tri t[h]abairt* (fem.) *fortachtan cid du neuch nachid.áirilli* "through giving help even to one who does not deserve it".

In other examples, pronouns are suffixed (without particle), as in the English examples just recalled: OIr. *libru Solman sex-us* "the books of Solomon, he followed them" (Thurneysen, *G.O.I.* §513), with *-us* suffixed pronoun for the plural of all genders; Tokh. B *pudñäktentse kektseño klawāte-ne lyawā-ne* "der Körper des Buddha strichelte (und rieb er)" (Krause – Thomas, § 264.2 b note 1), with an enclitic 3rd. p. *-ne* of minimal paradigm, identic with Lyc. *-ne* in an identical function, being only suffixed, not infixed.

6.3.3. In other cases, the pronominal stem, either pronoun or particle (not both) is cataphoric (a use which is generally called "prolepsis"); here again, the pronoun may be neuter, infixed or suffixed, as in O.Irish

(Thurneysen, §421: *cresaigth-i...in lágin móir sin* "he brandishes it..., that great lance" [*lágen*, fem.]; for an example of infixed pronoun, cf. *tri [t]habairt*, etc., *supra*); or it provides concord in gender and case: Luw. *kuiš-an ippatarrišatta* EN SISKUR-*aššin* (Laroche, *D.L.L.* 146) "he who pollutes, soiled him, the master of the ritual". In Myc. *jo-dososi*, which is followed by an enumeration of subjects, the verb (at the end of the sentence in unmarked position) is emphasized by going up towards the beginning of the utterance, and *jo-* is used both as cataphoric and as an accented prop of the enclitic verb, as in the case of *no-*, the well-known verbal "empty" Old Irish particle, which appears also in the Tokh. verb "to be" (B *nes-*/ A *nas-*: *$*no\text{-}H_1\,s$-*), and in Messapic *no* "sum" (C. de Simone, *Z.V.S.* 100, 1987, 135-145).

7. Putting an end to the syntactic functions of the pronominal categories of anaphora and of deixis as cataphora and as a mark of emphasis, I shall now study the pronominal categorial functions of space-time and of person-otherness. I begin with *deixis as the category of space-time.*

7.1. In historical times, there are two deictic systems. One of them provides two forms, one for proximity, the other for remoteness, e.g. Hitt. *ka-* and *apa-*. It is older than the other, which offers three personal deictics. But, rather like the single form of minimal paradigm, which is undifferentiated as to the case opposition among accusative, genitive, dative, both deictic systems were preceded by another, undifferentiated as to the proximity or remoteness, as is shown e.g. by the two specializations of the stem **de*: beside Hitt. *duwan...duwan*, "here and there", other forms denote remoteness: Hitt. *tuwa-* "far"; Hitt. *tuwala-*, Skr. *dūrá-* "far, distant", Gk. δήν < **dwān* "for a long while", δηρός "(too) long", Lat. *dūdum* "some time ago, for a long time", *dūrāre*; and proximity in deictic interjections ("here"!) and lative postpositions, which provide a first example of pronominal etymologies in columns:

7.2.

	$*H_1e$	**ke*	**de*	$*H_2e$	**re*
Hitt.	*e-*			*h u*	
Lat.		*ce-*	*do*		
Got.		*hi-*			*ri*
Gk.			δε -δε, δῶ	ὖ	ρο

7.3. Other stems exemplify original undifferentiation as to proximity or remoteness: for instance, **ke* for near deixis (Hitt. *ka-*, pronoun, Lat. *ce-do*, particle) and far deixis (Gk. ἐκεῖ); or **me*, in the non-subject cases of the remote deictic Skr. *amú-* (nomin. *asáu*), in the non-subject cases of the 1st person sg., and in a preposition (and conjunction), which I link, on the one side, with the deictic interjections:

	*me	*ghe	*re
Gk.	μέ-	χ-	ρι (Arm. *merj*),

and, on the other side, with **personal deitics.**

7.4. Now I quote these with some personal pronouns with which they are etymologically connected:

	I						II				III			
	**H₁ e*	**se*	**me*	**ghe*	**ke*	**de*	**H₁ e*	**se*	**H₂ e*	**te*	**ke*	**H₁ e*	**le*	**ne*
Gk.		ὅ-				δε	ο-		ὗ-	τος	κε-	ε-		νος >κεῖνος
Arm.					*sa*					*da*				*na*
O.Sl.					*si*					*tŭ*		*o-*		*nŭ*
Lit.					*šis*					*tàs*		*a-*		*nàs*
O.Pr.								*s-*		*tas*				
Lat.				*hi-*	*c*		*i-*	*s-*		*te*		**i-*	*l-*	*ne>ille*
			mi-	*hī*						*tē*				
Skr.	*a-*		*má-*	*hám hyam,*	*etc.*									

I shall now analyse some of these personal deictics.

If we set aside **so-*, deictic in ὅ-δε, or in οὗτος, *i-s-te* without any personal reference, and **H₁e*, simply a prop of the subsequent semic chain (in *a-sáu, o-nŭ, a-nàs, i-lle, i-ste*), we see stems which are specialized not only for proximity in the 1st personal deictics (**me, *ghe, *ke, *de*), but also, concerning two of them (**me, *ghe*), for the pronoun of the 1st person, which is, so to speak, the nearest of the near, as the "other" is the farthest of the far; other stems are specialized for remoteness (**le, *ne*) in the 3rd p., while the 2nd personal deictic is intermediate between the 1st and the 3rd, being remote from EGO like 3rd, but less than it. That is why the chain **so-H₂u* appears both in remote deictics as Av. *hau*, Skr. *asáu* and in 2nd p. deictic οὗτος, specified as belonging to this person by the stem **te* specialized for it.

8. Through these personal specifications, deictics have led us towards the category of **person-otherness.**

8.1. Anaphora played an important part in the *emergence of the person* as in the emergence of inflection: certain pronouns are totally or partly undifferentiated as to person: νιν is valid for all persons, as are reflexives particles (Hitt. *-za*) or pronouns (Tokh. B *ṣañ* / A *ṣñi*); Tokh. B *-me*/A *-m* is the suffixed personal pronoun for all the plural persons; in Hittite, the 1st Plur. *-nas* differs from the 2nd and 3rd *-smas*, but these are undifferentiated.

8.2. While the category of person arose from anaphora, it is *deixis* which explains how certain stems have been specialized for the 1st and 2nd persons singular, as shown by the connections between personal deictics and personal pronouns like *hi-c*/*mi-hī*, etc. But a problem arises from the undifferentiation concerning the category of *number* joined to the category of person, in the pronoun as later in the verb. The stem **ne* for instance is not quite well differentiated as to the person in the Greek personal deictics.

I		II		III
Chypr.	ὅ-νε, ὅ-νυ	Thess.	ὅ-νε	ἐ-κεῖ-νος
Arc.	τεί-δε-νυ	Arc.	ὁ-νί͂, ὅ-νυ	

In such deictics, *-*ne* may be indifferently singular or plural. In personal pronouns, **ne* has been specialized for the 1st plur. (*nōs*, etc.), as is well known, but also for the 1st. singular: Ved. (*áyā)-ni* (1st. p. sg. of the subjunctive of "to go"), Tokh. A *-ñi*/B *-ñ* unaccentuated, A *näṣ* masc., *ñuk* fem./B *ñäś*, accentuated. Conversely, **me* is well known for the 1st sg., but it has been specialized elsewhere for the 1st plural as in the unaccentuated Tokh. A *-m*/B *-me*.

8.3. Person, which arose, as a category, from anaphora, and which acquired specialized stems from deixis, called into existence all that completed it, i.e. what I name the category of *person-otherness*. We find here on the one hand all that strengthens the person (reflexive, pronouns of identity, ipsity, etc.); that reinforcement of the person may be connected with anaphora, as is shown by reflexives of the type ἕ beside anaphorics like ἑ. On the other hand, concerning otherness, it may be connected with deixis: e.g. Lat. *alius* or Skr. *anyá-* include stems of remote deixis (**le*, **ne*), because the "other" is the most remote person

from EGO; and I shall quote particles which are added to the name of the "Barbarians" in Anatolian (Hitt. $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$_Lulaḫiiaš-šan_; Luw. ^{d}_Lulaḫinzaš-tar_), and are agglutinated in the lexicalized adverb Ved. _sanu-tár_ "aside", noun _sánu-tya-_ "stranger".

8.4. The latter is one of the elements in a etymological chain, the lexicalizations of which concern many of the social relations between oneself and the other:

_*H_1e_	_*ghe_	_*s(w)e_	_*pe_	_*ne_	_*le_	_*te_	_*de_	
		_*s w e_				_t-_		: Gk. ἔτης "clansman"
		_*s e_				_tar-_		: Gk. ἕταρος, ἑταῖρος "comrade"
		_*s ē-_				_ti-_		: OSl. _po-sěti-ti_ "to invite"
		_s w e-_				_ti(o)-_		: Lith. _svetỹs, svẽčias_ "host, guest"
_*H_1e_		_s-_				_ti-_		: Av. _astis_ "host, guest"
	*gho-	_s-_				_ti-_		: Lat. _hostis_
	*gho-	_s-_	_pe-_			_t-_		: Lat. _hospes_
	*gho-	_s-_	_po-_				_di-_	: Sl. _gospodĭ_ "guest, stranger"
	_*gh-_	_s e-_		_nuo-_				: Gk. ξεῖνος "stranger"
		_*s e-_		_nu-_		_tio-_		: Skr. _sánutya-_ "stranger"
		*swoi-		_ni-_				: Lith. _sváinis_
		*swei-			_li(ŏ̆n)-_			: Gk. εἰλίονες
		$sw^{e}/_{i}$-			_lio-_			: Gk. ἀέλιοι, ἀίλιοι
		*$sw^{e}/_{i}$-			_lo-_			: OIce. _svilar_
		*swei-		_no-_				: OHG _swein_ "servant"
		*swoi-		_ni-_				: OSl. _o-svěni-ti_ "to be aside", cf. _svenje_ "aside"

(Lith. _sváinis_, Gk. εἰλίονες, ἀέλιοι, ἀίλιοι, O.Ic. _svilar_ are "brothers-in-law whose wives are sisters"). _*H_1e_ (cf. Skt. _as a-sáu_, Gk. ἐ-κεῖνος, etc.) may appear in Av. _a(stis)_, while Gk. ἀ(έλιοι, etc.) may be explained by _*sm̥-_ with Grassmann's Law (_*sm̥-swe-_, etc.).

9. Lastly, we have now to deal with the _etymological and semantic problems_.

9.1. The etymological ties that bind all these forms together, or others, like deictics and personal pronouns, appear to contradict what characterizes verbal roots from a semantic point of view: while the latter have one form for one concept, being "Saussurean signs", the pronominal stems are _asemantic_, indicating nothing else than relations, so that a given function may be expressed by a large number of stems (e.g. "and" is Hitt. _nu_, _ta_, _su_,

Luw. *a-*, *-ḫa*, Gk. καί, Ven. *ke*, Lat. *et*, Osc. ÍNÍM, Gaul. *etic*, etc.); and, as a corollary, a given stem may assume several functions: *k^wi-* is relative, interrogative, indefinite, without any diachronic connection between these different uses; similarly, we have Lyc. *se-be* (**gh-se-be*) "and", Gk. σφε, anaphoric and σφέ reflexive like *si-bī*; μέ-σφα "till" in space-time; νό-σφι "apart, aside" in space-time, with a seme of person-otherness.

9.2. IE languages brought some remedies to the confusion that might have resulted from such a situation: differentiated vocalisms (**se* reflexive, **so* deictic); differentiated agglutinations: **me* in μέ-σφα; **no* in νό-σφι; neither the one nor the other in σφι; differentiated accents: σφι/σφί; and, above all, semic specializations, which have arisen from categorial functions.

9.3. Consequently, we can try to analyse some examples of agglutinations in each of their constituents, by a method which combines the analysis of nominal compounds and componential analysis: we have already done it for certain deictics like ὅ-δε or *i-s-te*, the former providing an undifferentiated deictic, and a proximity deictic, the latter an anaphoric which is an empty prop in the semic chain, with the undifferentiated deictic **s(o)* and the stem **te* specialized for the 2nd. p. We may apply this kind of analysis to the category of person-otherness; so, **s-we* as reflexive is more precise than **se*: like the latter, it conveys the notion of "self" in **s-*, but **we* adds the notion of separation, remoteness, so that **swe* is "self" as related (i.e. opposed) to the one who is far, separate, that is the other; *sē-d* and *si-bī* (σφί) are "self" as related (i.e. opposed to) a second person (cf. **de* "two", Gk. δώ-δεκα, etc.; **bhe* "both", Goth. *bai*, etc.). Concerning the names of the strangers, hosts/guests, etc., they provide, on the one hand, the reflexive **s(w)e* and probably another reflexive, from **te* (cf. Luw. *-ti*, Hitt. *-za* < **-ty-o-*, Ved. *ní-tya-*, an agglutination of two reflexives, cf. for *ni-* Lyc. *ne*, reflexive and anaphoric); on the other hand, particles specialized for proximity (**ghe*, **de*) or remoteness (**pe*, **ne*, **le*). Therefore, these nouns designate the "stranger", etc., once again as "self" related to the one who is far and/or near; very strikingly indeed, stems for "self" and deictics alternate in forms like *ho-s-pe-t-* (with near and far deixis), or *gospodĭ* (with a reiterated near deixis), so that the "stranger" is designated as "self" related to the one who is near *(*ho-*, *-dĭ*) and far (**pe*): "near-self-far-self", etc.

10. Through analyses of this kind, the pronominal peculiarities remain.
First, there are etymological chains, just as there are chains in sentences and agglutinations in pronouns, so that we have to build vertical

etymologies. Second, as in the chains of sentences and their petrified forms, one of the constituents may be lacking: e.g., the particle of remote deixis, *-pe-*, is present in *hospes*, absent in *hostis* (as the -υ- of α-ὐ-τάρ is lacking in ἀ-τάρ, or the ἀ- of ἀέλιοι in εἰλίονες); and Latin uses the two different chains to distinguish two different social relations, "guest/host" and "enemy" (once more without any diachronic tie between the two).

Third, in building pronominal etymologies, we again find different forms in identical functions: thus in deixis, ὅδε with its deictic component **so*, and its component of proximity deixis **de*, and *hi-c* with its anaphoric specialized for the first p. **ghi*, and its deictic particle *-c*; in person-otherness, we have seen Hitt. *-šan* and Luw. *-tar* used to specify the Barbars as "strangers" as opposed to oneself.

And we find again one form for different functions: Hitt. *-san* is etymologically linked to the reflexive Tokh. B *ṣañ*/A *ṣñi* (while another reflexive has given an ethnic which is the contrary of the "Barbarians", *Sabīnī:* this name designates invaders as those who conquered for themselves the land of strangers, while *ắrya-* designates invaders as those who came from another land). Many forms could be added here. But I shall only offer a connection with Hitt. *-šan*, Skr. *sánu-tya-*, etc., the name of the "daughter-in-law", **snu-so-* (νυός, etc.), thus designated as a "stranger" (**snu-*) to the family group "**se*" (because of exogamy).

Through all these etymologies, because different stems and agglutinations derive their semic content from their categorial functions, the semantic fields covered by pronominal etymology seem very monotonous: space-time and person-otherness. But they are delimited by IE analysis concerning the relations of the speaker with the world which are extremely acute and quite structural indeed: it is shown by the linguistic data that each constituent of agglutination has its own semic content, so that the whole agglutination is structured in as many pieces of information as stems, as in *hospes* for instance.

Lastly, as pronouns differ from verbs and nouns concerning radical structure, accentuation, faculty of agglutination, petrification of sentence chains, inflection, categories, asemantism vs. semantism, we should not be surprised if a very large suppletive system was established between the former and the latter.

The study of that system is still a task for the future.*

* This is the text of a lecture given at the University of Tübingen (November 1988).

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STURTEVANT'S LAW IN HITTITE: A REASSESSMENT

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1. Introduction

"Sturtevant's Law" is the name given to the Hittite scribal convention according to which double writing of medial stops (though only when the cuneiform syllabary makes this possible, and even then not consistently [cf. Melchert 1994: 14]) in certain words contrasts with single writing of medial stops in certain other words. This writing convention is interpreted under Sturtevant's Law to be the method by which the Hittite scribes indicated some sort of phonemic contrast, usually taken to be a contrast between medial voiceless stops on the one hand and medial voiced stops on the other (cf. Sturtevant 1951: 26-28, §53). This interpretation is based upon the observation that words exhibiting medial double writing of stops generally correspond etymologically to words in other Indo-European languages with medial voiceless stops (or their equivalents), while words exhibiting medial single writing of stops generally correspond etymologically to words in other Indo-European languages with medial voiced stops (or their equivalents), the latter being derived from what has traditionally been reconstructed as either plain voiced stops or as voiced aspirated stops at the Proto-Indo-European level. The following examples illustrate the general patterning (the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions are given in traditional transcription):

Medial Double Writing:

A. Hittite (3 pl. pres.) *li-ip-pa-an-zi* "they smear" (also written *li-pa-a-an-zi*) = Sanskrit *liptá-ḥ* "smeared, anointed"; Greek λιπαρός "oily, greasy", λίπος "fat, oil" < Proto-Indo-European **lip-*.
B. Hittite *a-ap-pa* "afterwards, back, again" = Sanskrit *ápa* "away, from, off"; Greek ἄπο, ἀπό "from, away from, far from, apart from, away, off, back again" < Proto-Indo-European **ə̑₄epo-*.

C. Hittite (3 sg. mid. pres.) *ki-it-ta(-ri)* "lies" = Sanskrit (3 sg. mid. impf.) *á-śeta* "lay", (3 sg. mid. pres.) *śéte* "lies"; Avestan *saēte* "lies"; Greek (3 sg. impf.) ἔ-κειτο "lay", (3 sg. pres.) κεῖται "lies" < Proto-Indo-European 3 sg. mid. ending **-to-*.
D. Hittite (acc. sg.) *ú-it-ta-an* "year" = Greek ἔτος "year"; Latin *vetus* "old" < Proto-Indo-European **u̯et-*.
E. Hittite (3 sg. pres.) *lu-uk-ki-iz-zi* "kindles, grows light" (also *lu-uk-zi*) = Greek λευκός "light, bright, brilliant, white"; Latin *lūceō* "I shine" < Proto-Indo-European **leu̯q-*.

Medial Single Writing:

A. Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ne-pí-iš* "heaven, sky" = Sanskrit *nábhas-* "sky, cloud, mist"; Greek νέφος "cloud"; Old Church Slavic *nebo* "sky" < Proto-Indo-European **nebhos-*.
B. Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *pí-e-da-an* "place" = Sanskrit *padám* "step, footstep, position, site"; Greek πέδον "the ground, earth" < Proto-Indo-European **pedom*.
C. Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *wa-a-tar* "water" = Sanskrit *udán-* "water"; Greek ὕδωρ "water"; Gothic *watō* "water"; Old Church Slavic *voda* "water" < Proto-Indo-European **u̯ed-/*u̯od-/*ud-*.
D. Hittite (1 sg. pres.) *e-it-mi* "I eat" = Sanskrit *ádmi* "I eat"; Greek ἔδομαι "I shall eat"; Latin *edō* "I eat" < Proto-Indo-European *ə̯$_1$*ed-*.
E. Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *i-ú-kán*, *i-ú-ga-an* "yoke" = Sanskrit *yugám* "yoke"; Greek ζυγόν "yoke"; Latin *iugum* "yoke"; Gothic *juk* "yoke"; Old Church Slavic *igo* (< **jъgo*) "yoke" < Proto-Indo-European **i̯ugom*.
F. Hittite (nom. sg.) *ḫar-ki-iš* "white" = Sanskrit *árjuna-ḥ* "white, bright"; Greek ἀργός "shining, bright, glistening"; Latin *argentum* "silver" < Proto-Indo-European *ə̯$_2$*erĝ-*.
G. Hittite (nom. sg.) *pár-ku-uš* "high" = Armenian *barjr* "high"; Sanskrit *bṛhánt-* "high" < Proto-Indo-European **b*^{h}*r̥ĝ*^{h}-.
H. Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ḫé-kur*, *ḫé-gur* "summit, peak" = Sanskrit *ágram* "point, tip, summit" < Proto-Indo-European *ə̯$_3$*eg*^{u}*r-*.

There also exist several well-known exceptions to Sturtevant's Law, in which words exhibiting medial double writing of stops in Hittite correspond etymologically to words in other Indo-European languages with

medial voiced stops. Examples include (cf. Kronasser 1966: 14; Bomhard 1984: 116):

A. Hittite *ú-uk-ga* "I" (also written *ú-uk*, *ú-ga*; the *u* is probably analogical after the 2 sg. personal pronoun *tu-uk*, *tu-ga* "you" [cf. Melchert 1994: 7]) = Latin *egō*, *egŏ* "I"; Greek ἐγώ(ν) "I" < Proto-Indo-European **ə̯₁eĝ-oə̯*.
B. Hittite 2 pl. medio-passive primary ending *–dduma* in, for example, *i-ya-at-du-ma* "you go" = Sanskrit 2 pl. mid. secondary ending *–dhvam*; Avestan 2 pl. mid. secondary ending *-dwəm*; Greek 2 dual mid. primary and secondary ending -σθον (< **-zdhu̯om*) < Proto-Indo-European **-dʰu̯em/*-dʰu̯om/*-dʰum*.
C. Hittite (3 sg. pres.) *píd-da-i*, *pád-da-i* "to dig" = Latin *fodiō* "to dig"; Lithuanian *bedù*, *bèsti* "to dig, to bury"; Gaulish *bedo-* "canal, ditch"; Old Church Slavic *bodǫ*, *bosti* "to stick, to prick" < Proto-Indo-European **bʰedʰ-/*bʰodʰ-*.
D. Hittite (acc.-dat. sg.) *am-mu-uk-ga* "to me" (also written *am-mu-uk*, *am-mu-ug-ga*, *am-mu-uq-qa*, *am-mu-uk-qa*) = Greek (acc. sg.) ἔμεγε "me" < Proto-Indo-European **-ge*.
E. Hittite (nom. sg.) *me-ik-ki-iš* "large" = Greek μέγας "great" < Proto-Indo-European **meĝ-*.

It is these exceptions that previously led me to question the validity of Sturtevant's Law (cf. Bomhard 1984: 116-119).

2. The Reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European Stop System

At the beginning of this century, the Neogrammarian reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European phonological system, which was based upon the principle that sound laws admit no exceptions, was widely accepted as being a fairly accurate representation of what had existed in the Indo-European parent language. To this day, the Neogrammarian reconstruction (or variations of that reconstruction) enjoys widespread support among Indo-Europeanists. The Neogrammarian reconstruction of the Proto-Indo-European stop system, which was modeled after the phonological system found in Old Indo-Aryan (represented by Vedic and Classical Sanskrit) consisted of a four-way contrast of (1) plain voiceless stops, (2) voiceless aspirated stops, (3) plain voiced stops, and (4) voiced aspirated stops, thus (cf. Brugmann 1904: 52; see also Szemerényi 1996: 54-69):

1	2	3	4	
p	p^h	b	b^h	(labial)
t	t^h	d	d^h	(dental)
$\hat{k}$	$\hat{k}^h$	$\hat{g}$	$\hat{g}^h$	(palatal)
q	q^h	g	g^h	(pure velar)
$q^{u̯}$	$q^{u̯h}$	$g^{u̯}$	$g^{u̯h}$	(labiovelar)

During this century, it became widely accepted that the traditional voiceless aspirates (column 2) should be removed from the Proto-Indo-European phonological inventory (cf. Bomhard 1986: 69-71 for details). The problem with removing the voiceless aspirates, however, is that the resulting system has no typological parallels among the known languages of the world (cf. Jakobson 1971 [1957]: 528; Martinet 1970: 115). And yet, on structural grounds, positing a three-way contrast (without the voiceless aspirates) for Proto-Indo-European instead of the four-way contrast (with the voiceless aspirates) posited by the Neogrammarians seems fully justified.

There are also problems involving the traditional plain voiced stops (column 3). One such problem, which is usually mentioned in the standard handbooks, is the unexpected statistically low frequency of occurrence of the traditional plain voiced bilabial stop **b*. As a matter of fact, the entire series of plain voiced stops is characterized by a statistically low frequency of occurrence in comparison with the traditional plain voiceless stops and the traditional voiced aspirates. Moreover, the traditional plain voiced stops are rarely found in pronouns and in inflectional affixes. Finally, there is the problem of the root structure constraint that prohibits the co-occurrence of two plain voiced stops in a given root.

It was in trying to find solutions to these problems in particular that the Georgian scholar Thomas V. Gamkrelidze and the Russian scholar Vjačeslav V. Ivanov, on the one hand, and the British-born American scholar Paul J. Hopper, on the other, working independently, were led to propose, in the early 1970s, a radical revision of the Proto-Indo-European stop system. Observing that the traditional plain voiced stops seemed to exhibit many of the typological characteristics of glottalized stops (ejectives), they proposed reinterpreting this series as ejectives. In their version of what has now come to be known as the "Glottalic Theory", Gamkrelidze and Ivanov made no changes to the traditional voiced aspirates, but they reinterpreted the traditional plain voiceless stops as voiceless aspirates. In this revised interpretation, aspiration is viewed as a redundant feature, and the phonemes in question could be realized as

allophonic variants with or without aspiration depending upon the paradigmatic alternation of root phonemes. The system of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov may be represented as follows (cf. Gamkrelidze 1976: 403):

1	2	3	4	
p[ʰ]	-	(p')	b[ʰ]	(labial)
t[ʰ]	-	t'	d[ʰ]	(dental)
k̂[ʰ]	-	k̂'	ĝ[ʰ]	(palatal)
k[ʰ]	-	k'	g[ʰ]	(pure velar)
kʷ[ʰ]	-	k'ʷ	gʷ[ʰ]	(labiovelar)

The revisions proposed by Gamkrelidze, Hopper, and Ivanov provide typologically natural explanations for the problems mentioned above, specifically:

A. By reinterpreting the traditional plain voiceless stops (column 1) as voiceless aspirates, there is no longer a problem, from a typological point of view, with positing a series of voiced aspirates (column 4) for Proto-Indo-European, since the imbalance caused by the removal of the traditional voiceless aspirates (column 2) is eliminated.
B. Reinterpretation of the traditional plain voiced stops (column 3) as glottalics makes it easy to account for the statistically low frequency of occurrence of the traditional plain voiced bilabial stop (which becomes a bilabial ejective in the revised system), since the bilabial member is always characterized by a low frequency of occurrence (there often being a total absence at this point of articulation) in attested languages having ejectives.
C. In languages having ejectives, it is common for ejectives to be either excluded from or underrepresented in inflectional affixes and pronouns.
D. Several languages with ejectives have a constraint against the co-occurrence of two ejectives in a root. Thus, reinterpretation of the traditional plain voiced stops as glottalics provides a typologically natural explanation for the root structure constraint prohibiting the co-occurrence of two (traditional) plain voiced stops in a given root.

Moreover, the revisions proposed by Gamkrelidze, Hopper, and Ivanov provide new insights into the underlying principles governing Grassmann's Law and Bartholomae's Law. Finally, it may be noted that strong support for the changes proposed by Gamkrelidze, Hopper, and

Ivanov is to be found in Germanic, Armenian, and (the poorly-attested) Phrygian (cf. Diakonoff – Neroznak 1985: 5). According to the traditional interpretation, Germanic, Armenian, and Phrygian had been thought to have undergone "sound shifts" (*Lautverschiebungen*). Under the revised interpretation, however, they are rightly seen as relic areas.

The Proto-Indo-European stop system reconstructed above may be viewed as reflecting a late stage of development. For pre-Anatolian Proto-Indo-European, I have argued elsewhere that the traditional voiced aspirates are to be reconstructed as plain voiced stops and that the development of this series into voiced aspirates is a later development (cf. Bomhard 1984: 31-34; 1996: 50 and 54). That this series was not aspirated in pre-Anatolian Proto-Indo-European will be demonstrated below.

3. From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Anatolian

The three series reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European in the preceding section were preserved as separate series in Proto-Anatolian. This is clear, for instance, from the different treatment of the voiced and non-voiced velar stops before high front vowels in the Luwian branch of Anatolian (Hieroglyphic and Cuneiform Luwian along with the later Lycian). Here, the non-voiced members are preserved, while the voiced member is lost; for example (the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions will now be transcribed according to the system of Gamkrelidze and Ivanov):

A. Cuneiform Luwian *kiša-* "to comb, to card" = Hittite *kišai-* "to comb" < Proto-Anatolian *k^hes-* "to comb, to card" < pre-Anatolian Proto-Indo-European *k[^{h}]es-*. Probable non-Anatolian cognates include Greek κέσκεον (< *kes-kes-*) "tow, oakum"; Old Church Slavic *češǫ*, *česati* "to comb, to pull off".
B. Cuneiform Luwian (nom. sg.) *(i-)iš-ša-ri-iš* "hand"; Hieroglyphic Luwian (dat. sg.) *istri* "hand"; Lycian *izri-* "hand" (all with loss of an earlier initial voiced velar before high front vowel) = Hittite (nom.-acc. sg.) *ki-eš-šar* "hand" < Proto-Anatolian *gēsar* "hand" < pre-Anatolian Proto-Indo-European *gēsr̥*. Non-Anatolian cognates (from the same root but with a different suffix) include the following: Sanskrit *hásta-ḥ* "hand"; Old Persian *dasta-* "hand"; Avestan *zasta-* "hand"; Latin *praestō* (< *prae-hestōd*) "at hand, ready". The Hieroglyphic Luwian form contains an epenthetic *t*.

More evidence is possibly to be found in the treatment of dentals initially before high front vowels in Hittite. In this case, the voiceless aspirated and plain voiced members are preserved, while the plain voiceless (from earlier glottalized) member becomes *š*, as shown in the following example:

A. Hittite (dat.-loc. sg.) *šiwatti* "day" and (gen. sg.) *ši-(i-)ú-na-aš* "god" = Palaic (nom. sg.) *Ti-ya-az(-)* name of the sun-god; Hieroglyphic Luwian *Tiwat-*, (adj.) *tiwatami-* "bright, sunny" < Proto-Anatolian **tyēwat-* < pre-Anatolian Proto-Indo-European **t'yēw-*. Non-Anatolian cognates include Sanskrit *dyáu-ḥ* "heaven, sky, day", *devá-ḥ* "god"; Greek Ζεύς "Zeus", δῖος "god-like, divine"; Armenian *tiv* "day"; Latin *diēs* "day", *deus* "god"; Old Irish *dïe*, *dïa* "day".

There may be additional evidence from the later Lycian and Lydian, as Shevoroshkin (1988) has tried to show. Shevoroshkin claims, for instance, that the Proto-Indo-European stop system has developed as follows in Lycian:

Indo-European	Milyan Initially	Milyan Medially	Lycian Initially	Lycian Medially
t	t-	-t-	t-	-t-
d	d-	-d-	dd-	-d-
d^h	t-	-d-	t-	-d-

Some of the evidence that Shevoroshkin adduces to support his views, however, is questionable and is to be treated with the utmost caution. Moreover, there is other Lycian evidence, not cited by Shevoroshkin, that points to alternative interpretations (note also Melchert's [1994: 53-54] critical assessment of Shevoroshkin's views).

There are enough clues within the Anatolian daughter languages to support the contention that the three series of stops reconstructed for the phonological system of the Indo-European parent language maintained their separate identity in Proto-Anatolian. It is not possible to tell, however, whether or not series 3 was glottalized at the Proto-Anatolian level, though there is nothing to indicate that it was. I assume that series 3 was not glottalized in Proto-Anatolian. The most important point to bear in mind is that it is series 3 and 4 that are represented by medial single writing in Hittite and that it is series 1 that is represented by medial dou-

ble writing. Thus, the Proto-Anatolian stop system is probably to be reconstructed as follows:

1	2	3	4
p^h	-	p	b
t^h	-	t	d
$\hat{k}^h$	-	$\hat{k}$	$\hat{g}$
k^h	-	k	g
k^hw/u	-	kw/u	gw/u

Note: Melchert (1994: 53) assumes that series 3 and 4 merged in Proto-Anatolian. Moreover, he assumes (1994: 21) that the earlier voicing contrast was replaced by a fortis ~ lenis opposition in the older Anatolian daughter languages.

4. Hittite

Hittite was written in a cuneiform syllabary derived from a form of Old Akkadian cuneiform in use in Northern Syria in the beginning of the second millennium B.C.E. (cf. Gamkrelidze 1968: 91-92). Now, the older cuneiform writing system was not suited to rendering Akkadian, much less Hittite. In Old Akkadian, voiceless, voiced, and emphatic consonants were not differentiated in the writing system, though methods were gradually developed to represent most of the Akkadian phonological distinctions. This is important, for no attempt was ever made, even after Akkadian had introduced separate syllabograms to differentiate voiceless, voiced, and emphatic consonants, to modify the Hittite writing practices to make use of the same methods to note a voicing contrast in stops. We must conclude, therefore, that the Hittite scribes did not feel that it was worthwhile to note such a contrast, regardless of what the underlying phonetics may have been.

What then, if anything, does medial double writing of stops indicate if not a voicing contrast? The answer to this question can be ascertained by looking closely at the Proto-Anatolian stop system reconstructed above. Series 1 is differentiated from series 3 by the presence of aspiration and from series 4 by the absence of voicing, while series 3 and 4 are differentiated from each other by a contrast in voicing. Since it is only series 1 that is represented by medial double writing, it must have been the feature of aspiration that was considered significant by the Hittite

scribes. This means that series 4 cannot have been aspirated since it too would have been represented by medial double writing. It also means that the opposition of medial double writing and medial single writing cannot have indicated a voicing contrast, since, if that had been the case, then series 3 would also have been represented by medial double writing, which is clearly not the case, both series 3 and 4 being represented by medial single writing. It should be noted here that Gamkrelidze (1968: 94) was the first to suggest that medial double writing of stops in Hittite was used as a means to indicate the presence of aspiration:

> The aspirated stops were rendered in Hittite cuneiform by double writing of consonants, whereas single writing was used to represent plain stops.

Gamkrelidze devotes a later article (1982) to a detailed analysis of Hittite consonantism, noting specifically (1982: 78-79):

> In light of these facts, Sturtevant's rule acquires a completely different significance: The graphic reduplication of plosives is used to denote not the simple voiceless plosives but the corresponding aspirated phonemes, while their single writing was used for non-aspirated consonants.
>
> Thus we can reach the conclusion that the Hittite phonological system was characterized by two series of plosives: aspirated ones denoted by the graphic reduplication of the relevant consonant on the one hand, and non-aspirated ones on the other, denoted by single writing of the corresponding consonant.
>
> Three series of Proto-Indo-European plosives: 1) glottalized, 2) voiced (aspirated), and 3) voiceless (aspirated) were reduced in the Hittite phonological system into two series opposed to each other by virtue of aspiration. The differentiating feature for the phonological opposition of plosives is only the factor of aspiration (tenseness), regardless of the original voiced/unvoiced opposition of the plosives, which had phonemic significance in the Proto-Indo-European system. The correlation of Proto-Indo-European plosives depending upon whether they were voiced, voiceless or glottalized was replaced in the Hittite phonological system by the correlation on the basis of "aspiration" (tenseness).
>
> The feature of aspiration, which had been phonologically irrelevant with the phonemes of series 2) and 3) in Proto-Indo-European, became a phonologically significant feature in the Hittite system of plosives. In the process, the Proto-Indo-European series 1) and 2) merged into a general series of non-aspirated plosives as opposed to the series of aspirated ones, which derives from the Proto-Indo-European series 3) of voiceless (aspirated) plosives.
>
> With the adoption of the Akkadian cuneiform writing, the two series of Hittite plosives — the simple and the aspirated — were written not by the signs for voiced and voiceless plosives, as these were not differentiated in the early Akkadian writing system, but with the single and double writing of the respective consonants. Accordingly, the *single* writing of a consonant was used to express *simple* plosives, while for the Hittite *aspirated*

> (tense) plosives a new means of denotation was found, that is the *reduplication* of the consonant in question, by which was solved the problem of how to differentiate graphically between simple plosive and the corresponding aspirated consonant.

This does not explain the whole picture, however, for we must still account for the exceptions to Sturtevant's Law. Since the exceptions exhibit medial double writing of stops in Hittite words which correspond etymologically to words in other Indo-European languages with medial voiced stops (or their equivalents, these being derived from either earlier glottalized stops or earlier voiced aspirates at the Proto-Indo-European level), the distinguishing characteristic cannot have been aspiration. Let us take a look at each of the exceptions listed previously (the Proto-Indo-European reconstructions are transcribed according to Gamkrelidze and Ivanov's system, with reference to the traditional reconstructions):

A. Hittite *ú-uk-ga* "I": in this case, we are dealing with a particle added to the stem (cf. Sturtevant 1951: 103, §170a), so that, in fact, we have gemination: Proto-Indo-European **ə̭$_1$ek'-* + **-k'e/o* (in traditional terms, **ə̭$_1$eĝ-* + **-ge/o*) > Proto-Anatolian **ek+ka* > Hittite (with analogical *u*) **uk+ka*. The particle appears in Greek as -γε, dialectal -γα.
B. Hittite 2 pl. pres. ending *–dduma* in, for example, *i-ya-at-du-ma* "you go": here, the verb stem is probably to be reconstructed as **ə̭$_1$y-eə̭$_4$-* (so Sturtevant 1951: 34, §61; Puhvel 1984ff. 1/2: 334-335, however, considers *iya-* to be a thematic stem comparable to Vedic 3 sg. pres. *ayate* and derives it from earlier **eyo-*), to which the ending **-dum-* (traditional **-d^{h}um-*) has been added. Most likely, the second laryngeal (**ə̭$_4$*), which was lost as an independent phoneme in Hittite, has merged with the following dental, producing a geminate. Thus, double writing here indicates former presence of a laryngeal, which has left a trace in the gemination of the following stop.
C. Hittite (3 sg. pres.) *píd-da-i*, *pád-da-i* "to dig": here, we are dealing with a Proto-Indo-European stem **bed-/*bod-* (traditional **b^{h}ed^h-/*b^{h}od^h-*), to which a laryngeal suffix has been added: **bed-* + **-ə̭-*. In this case, the laryngeal has merged with the preceding stop, producing a geminate.
D. Hittite (acc.-dat. sg.) *am-mu-uk-ga* "to me" (also written *am-mu-uk*, *am-mu-ug-ga*, *am-mu-uq-qa*, *am-mu-uk-qa*): as in the first example, we are dealing with a particle that has been added to the stem, thus producing gemination.

E. Hittite (nom. sg.) *me-ik-ki-iš* "large": this is similar to the third example in that a laryngeal suffix has merged with a preceding stop, producing a geminate: Proto-Indo-European **mek'-* (traditional **meĝ-*) + **-ə̯i-* > Hittite **mekkis*.

5. Conclusions

On the basis of the preceding analysis, Sturtevant's Law is to be reinterpreted as follows: double writing of medial stops indicates stop plus something additional, that is, either aspiration or gemination, while single writing of medial stops indicates a plain stop pure and simple.

According to Melchert (1994: 21), medial double writing of stops in Hittite indicates fortis (= long) articulation, while single writing indicates lenis (= short) articulation. Specifically, Melchert (1994: 117) notes:

> I assume that the PA [= Proto-Anatolian] contrast of voiceless/voiced stops has been reanalyzed in Hittite as one of fortis/lenis, with the realization in medial position being that of long/short. I retain the standard symbols for voiceless and voiced stops for convenience. One important contributing factor in this reanalysis was the devoicing of voiced stops in word-initial position.

Melchert's views are not incompatible with the conclusions reached in this paper.

On fortis/lenis articulation, cf. Laver (1994: 344) and Ladefoged – Maddieson (1995: 95-99). Both Laver and Ladefoged – Maddieson caution against the careless use of these terms.

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SACRIFICES IN THE CITY OF TEIŠEBÂ (UKN 448): LIGHTS ON THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF URARTU*

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At present, the level of Urartology is sufficient to attempt coherent translations not only of Urartian declarative, annalistic, and the easiest votive inscriptions, but also of the more complex texts, dealing with the foundation of temples and the establishment of regular sacrifices; such texts reveal new and hitherto unheeded information on the history and social structure of Urartu. I had planned a complete edition of the Urartian votive texts, but this must now presumably be left for the younger generation of Urartologists. From my files, I would like to reconstruct, as a sample, a part of the text of the great Karmir-blur inscription, known from the *editio princeps* of N.V. Harouthiounian[1] and the re-edition by G.A. Melikišvili, UKN 448. This most interesting text deserves a complete treatment, but meanwhile I shall limit myself to translating only a few paragraphs and commenting on them.

§§1-2 (I, 1-5) record the foundation of the city of Teišebâ, and of the sanctuary of Haldi there, by Rusâ II; it is stressed that "the bank was steep, the land was barren, nothing was built there" (*/qar[be salze mano], qiurâne quldine, oye yeĭ ištine šida[o]re/*), which was exactly the state that we found on the site in 1939. §3 (I, 6) mentions a "decree" (*ardiše*) which established (*nips-*) the usual sacrifices (MÁŠ.TUR)[2] for

* This is an improved version of my Russian article "Zhertvoprinoshenie v Teishebaini", published in the journal *Kavkazsko-Blizhnevostochnyj sbornik* VIII (1988): 55 ss. (Tbilisi).

[Editor's note: Prof. Diakonoff's English is so masterly that I have decided not to "intefere" with his words even on a few occasions where his word choices become overly colloquial for "prescriptive scholarly prose style". It is both always readily comprehensible and pleasurable. I have only substituted for a few grammatical terms, e.g. the customary "middle" (vs. "active/passive") for his Latinate "medium" and other such. YLA].

[1] N.V. ARUTJUNJAN, *Novye urartskie nadpisi Karmir-blura (NUNKB)*, 1966, Erevan; UKN 448.

[2] The sumerogram MÁŠ.TUR means literally "small he-goat" i.e. "kid" (a "billy-goat kid"). However, in the list of sacrifices this term invariably precedes all other domestic animals, even bulls. Moreover, the term is never used either with the verb "to slaughter" (TAG, *urb-*), or with the verb "to bring, to lift up (an offering)" (*ašḫ-*), but always with the

"the Haldian gates[3]; it is to these sacrifices that §§4-5 (I, 7-10) of our text are devoted.

Beginning with §6 (I, 10ss.), certain rules concerning some special cases of sacrifices are narrated, and the narrative is continued through §§6-12 (I, 10-21). These seven paragraphs will concern us here:

§6: (I,10) ... *a-še ta-nu-]e* MÁŠ.TUR *ni-ip-se-du-li-[i-né* ᴳᵁᴰ*pa-ḫi-né(?)]* (11) ᵈ*Ḫal-di-e* TAG ÁB ᵈ*Wa*ₓ*-ru-ba-i-né*

§6: "... When they perform[4] (this ritual)[5], let an obligatory sacrifice be establi[shed: a bull] for Haldi let be slaughtered, a cow for Warubaine".

§7: *a-še ši-di-iš-tú-le pa-ḫa-zu-le* MÁŠ.TUR ᵈ*Ḫal-di-e ni-ip-se-du-li-né* GU[D ᵈ*Ḫal-di-e* TAG] (12) ÁB ᵈ*Wa*ₓ*-ru-ba-i-né*

§7: "When they build *paḫazule*[6], let an obligatory offering be established: a bul[l for Haldi let be slaughtered], a cow for Warubaini".

verb *nips-*, this verb always being in another inflected form, not in that of the verbs *urb-* and/or *ašḫ-*, — namely, in Optative I of the imperfective-durative in *-ed*. This means that the action expressed by the verb *nips-* is thought of as being continuous, in contrast with the one time actions *urb-* and *ašḫ-*. By these reasons, I believe that MÁŠ.TUR (a spurious sumerogram coined by Urartian scribes and never — or seldomly(?) — attested in real Sumerian administrative and economic texts) means "a regular sacrifice of domestic animals in general" which corresponds to Sumerian m a š d a r i a, lit. "the regular kid"; the m a š d a r i a was usually offered in sheep, not in goat kids. Consequently, we translate *nips-* as "to establish (a regular sacrifice)".

[3] There are several terms for sanctuaries attested in Urartian texts: (1) É.BARÁG = Akk. *parakku*, Urar. *yârane* "chapel" or "sacred podium" (usually under a canopy); (2) KÁ, ᴳᴵŠKÁ = Urart. *šeštile-* "gates" = a niche in the rock or a single stela on a platform; it is not impossible that *šeštile* is the same as *yârane*. In Teišebâ's City there was a high platform over which the inscription UKN 448 was hewn on a stone wall; this may have been *šeštile*; (3) *sûse*, probably a temple in the strict sense, often with a columned hall; (4) there is attested a designation of a temple as a "house (É) of the deity N". This is probably the most general term, by which is meant both the temple building and the corresponding economic unit. The reading of this sumerogram has not been established, but cf. n. 50 below.

[4] The ritual implied here and mentioned above in the inscription (I, 7) is *qudulâne šuḫinaṣe* MÁŠ.TUR "the sacrifice for the new *qudulâ*" (the ablative *-ne* **may** be in congruence with the composite directive case in *-a-ṣe*). Our tentative translation of **qudulâ* as "lunation, moon" is not accepted by HAROUTHIOUNIAN and M. SALVINI.

[5] The Hurrian *tan-* means "to do, make"; but Urartian uses another verb in that general sense of "doing, making", viz. *ṣad-* (or *zad-*, but cf. Hurr. *šad-*); therefore Urartian *tan-* must have a more specific meaning. In most cases this verb stands in connection with sacrifices, but in UKN 268, 10 it is used for "creating" an artificial lake. Here we have preferred the translation "to perform".

[6] The word is obscure; it is even hard to say whether it is a noun in the plural or a verb in the optative.

§8: *a-še* ^{d}*Ḫal-de-e-i* É.BARÁG-*ṣe* DUMU-*le a-gu-le* MÁŠ.TUR ^{d}*Ḫal-di-e ni-i[p]-se-du-li-[né a-le ú-i* É.BARÁG] (13) *-ṣe* DUMU *ur-di-a-le iš-ti-né qà-qu-le* wa$_x$*-[ḫ]u-le-né* KI.*TIM qu-ul-di-né-né mì-i e-ši-me-ṣe el-mu-še ma-nu-né*

§8: "When they bring sons into Haldi's sanctuary[7], let an obligatory offering to Haldi be esta[b]lish[ed: (he) who] in the sanctuary does [not] want to let serve[8], for this[9] let him collect stones[10] from barren land, over and above[11] what he did[12] on the land(?)[13] under oath(?)[14].

§9: *[a-še* x x x x] (14) *a-le* ^{d}*Ḫal-di-na-né* ^{GIŠ}KÁ UDU *e-ra-ši-né ú-ú-le a-le* ^{LÚ}*pa-la-ye*$_x$ *ma-nu-le áš-du-li-né* ^{d}*Ḫal-di-né-e* É.[BARÁG-*ṣe* x x x x]

[7] See n. 3 above.

[8] The senses of the verb *ur-* can be established from the following contexts: UKN 268, 11-12: ^{LÚ}DUMU-*še* ^{URU}*Ṭu-uš-pa-i-né[-še]* ⸢*ú*⸣ *-ru-la-né i-se-i* KI$^{[TIM]}$ $^{[m]}$*Ru-sa-ḫi-na-ka-i e-we*$_x$ *i-nu-š[e ṣ]u-i-ne-i e-se* GU-*né qu-ul-di-[né šú]-le ma-nu* ^{LÚ}DUMU-*še a-lu-še [u]-ru-lu-né*... "the citizens (lit. "the children") of Ṭušpâ had to work up (= "till") of each (kind of) la[nd] before (the city) Rusâhinele, and also thi[s] place of the [l]ake was truly barre[n (and) wa]ste, which (now) the citizens tilled (for themselves, *middle diathesis*)"...; further, UKN 155 G (see below) distinguishes between the "burdens" (of service) lessened for the three social groups, the *šurele* (the elite, cf. the Urartian royal title *erele šurawe*), the warriors, the *ḫurâdinele*, and the *urordele*, the latter being taxed in agricultural and stock rearing produce. The nominal form in *-ord-â* (< *-ord-âe*)/*-orde* is discussed by DIAKONOFF in *Hurrisch und Urartäisch*,1971, München, p. 70; and by M. KHACHIKYAN in *Khurritskij i urartskij jazyki*, 1986, Erevan, p. 65. The verb *ur-* (transitive) should hence mean "to work, to till" or perhaps "to perform the labor service". What is meant in our context, is either labor service or — perhaps more probably — service in the temple economy of the laboring personnel. In both cases this should probably refer to the conquered local population. Cf. the Hurrian verb *ur-* "to become, stay, sojourn" or the like ("sich machen, sich befinden"), hence transitive "to make to be" > "to work out (completely)".

[9] *ištine*, of course, means "there", but a transition from the spatial "there" to the temporal "then, after" and hence to the causal "therefore" can be considered as natural. On *išane* see n. 23 below.

[10] The sense of "to gather, collect" for *waḫ-* can be deduced from the following context: UKN 65, 30-31: *a-še* GEŠTIN^{MEŠ} *šú-ḫe-e wa*$_x$*-ḫu-le-e* /wah-o-le/ "when the new grapes are gathered...". The sense of "stones" for KA-*qu-le* is decided (1) by the fact that they are "gathered from barren land" and (2) by the connection with Common Northeast Caucasian **q·ɔ·rqV* "stone" (*-r-* in inlaut is regularly elided in Hurro-Urartian). Thus the semantics of the context and the etymological correspondences buttress the one the other here. The reading *qà(!)-qu-le* is not influenced by the supposed proto-form, but is postulated because of the very low posssibility of an occurrence of **k* and **q* in the same root next to each other. The opinion that the Urartian signs were monophonic is certainly out of date.

[11] The meaning of "except for" or "over and above" (along with the more usual "[let] not") is deduced from the contexts UKN 24 obv. 34; 156, 29.

[12] /man-u-ne/ lit. "make to be", 3 sg. pres. causative of *man-* "to be".

[13] *eši-me* is connected to *eše* as Hurrian *purâ-me* to Urartian *purâ* "slave"; *eše* seems to mean "earth", not "sky" as I thought formerly, because of the context UKN 281, 22 and 17: *a-še* A^{MEŠ} *e-ši-a ṣi-ú-le* "when water flows in/on/from the *eše*"; parallel to *a-še pi-le né-ke-du-le* "when the canal overflows (/nek-ed-o-le/)".

[14] /elm-o-še/, cf. Hurrian *elm-, elăm-* "oath"; an adjectival form in *-še* "by oath".

(15) *ku-ši-i-né* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-i-ka* ᵈ*Wa*ₓ*-ru-ba-i-né-ka i-šá-né z/ṣa-di-i-né* TAG ᴱ*se-er-ḫa-né-né ma-ri-a-ḫe-né* [x x x x x x] (16) *a-le i-né ú-le* ᴷᵁᴿ*šú-re-le*₁₀ *ú-ú-la-le áš-du-li*₁₀*-né* ᴱ*se-er-ḫa-né-né su-si-né-ka ku-ši-i-né áš-ḫa-áš-ti-né ḫa-lu-le*(?) [x x x] (17) ᵈ*[Ḫ]al-di-na-né* KÁ*-ka a-lu-še mì-ri-ip-te ma-nu-le ši-i-né mì-ru-né* [x x x x x x x] (18) ᵈ*Ḫal-di-na-né* KÁ*-ka-i*

§9: "[When[15].....] the ram, which[16] for (?) the exit (?)[17] from the Haldian gates one requests (?)[18] — the *palâye*[19] who is (present)[20], let him place him[21] [in] Haldi's sanct[uary,.....] may one lay down (the ram)[22] before Haldi (and) before Warubaine, (and) after (that)[23], may one go[24] (and) make an offering (slaughtering)[25] from the *serḫane*-house[26] belonging to the *mare*-men[27], (but) that other (offering) which the *šurele*-

[15] The reconstructed *âše* is required by the following verbal forms.

[16] The subjunctive particle *ale* is preposed, a very usual pattern in Urartian texts.

[17] The translation is conventional, but cf. /er-ed-a-be/ in UKN 128 AI, 18. G.A. MELIKIŠVILI rightly points out that this verb is parallel to *nun-* "to come" and *ši-* "to go (away)".

[18] /wu-/ is the predicate of the sentence, perhaps "requests" (?).

[19] *palâye* is a gerundive participle of the verb *pal-* "to speak, recite": "the speaker, incantator"; this is probably a priestly office.

[20] *ma-nu-le* may be either read /man-o-le/, i.e. intransitive "let be/be present" or /man-u-le/, i.e. causative "let him make to be" > "let him make".

[21] /aš-(e)d-/ is a form of the verb Urartian *aš-*, Hurrian *ašš-* (intransitive) "to sit", transitive "to set, put, place" (certainly not of Indo-European origin for all its common appearance!). Here optative.

[22] The verb *kuš-* is usually translated as "to erect", but more probably it is simply "to put" (here translated as "to lay down"). In sentences introduced by the conjunction /âše/ "when" the predicate has to be in the optative and the **wished for action** can no longer also be expressed in the optative: hence the jussive (= 3rd person of the imperative) has to be employed. Thus also below *šîne*, which may be both "let (him) go" (intransitive) and "let him send" (transitive-causative).

[23] Lit. "that"; "that (i.e. "the other") side"; "there"; here perhaps used in a causal sense, cf. on *ištine* n. 9 above.

[24] See n. 22 above.

[25] TAG = *urbu* "offering of a slaughtered animal".

[26] In the *serḫane*(-house) one probably kept the animals before offering. Possibly from *sê* "shepherd" /s(ê)-er(e)-h-an-e/(?) > [sêrhanə].

[27] The *mare*-men are mentioned in UPD 12 and 15. The first text is a list of the palace personnel at Rusâhinele. It consists of 1,113 *mare*-men subdivided into two groups; then 3,784 eunuchs (this part of the list includes, however, also women weavers; there were, as usual in the Ancient Near East, few working women among the personnel, so they were not listed separately); 300 *šurele*-men (ᴸᵁ́KUR.KUR, which term refers to persons also with the royal titles — not to countries); 90 men "of the population" (ᴸᵁ́UKÙᴹᴱŠ); and 220 diverse individuals, including 108 courtier (?)-eunuchs (?—ᴸᵁ́*ŠÁ RĒŠI* É.GAL*-i*, lit. "eunuchs of the fortress"). One might follow the opinion of V.V. IVANOV and many other savants, and suppose that we have a borrowing from the Old Indic *marya-* "(young) male" (as distinct from the eunuchs?), but this supposition is contradicted by the fact that numerous persons are also listed who do not belong either to the eunuchs or to the *mare*. A connection with Hurrian *mari-anne* "chario-

men[28] should want to request (?)[29], let him place it from the *serḫane*-house before the temple[30], may he lay it (down), may he make an offering [feast (?)[31]....] for Haldi: (and) after (that) may he go[32] (and) make an offering (slaughtering) before the Haldian gates. Let the governor[33] make[34] a

teer" is possible, but the latter term needs no Indo-Iranian (and hence, Indo-European) etymology which *an und für sich* is not probable when a term is attested both in Hurrian and Urartian, and additionally not only in Mitanni, but also in Alalah and Arraphe: all Aryan (Indo-Iranian) names in Arraphe belong to Mitannians — there were no Indo-Europeans present there. [Editor's note: Prof. Diakonoff's comment on the connections of the well known warrior class of the *marianne* is an important and original interpretation, but I remain confused by his terminology when he says that "all Aryan names in Arraphe belong to Mitannians — there were no Indo-Europeans" (i.e., I assume, present at Alalah and Arraphe as there were indeed in the Mitanni heatland). For it is my usage and that common among many *Fachgenossen* to use "Hurrian" for the population of the Hurro-Mitannian state, the "subjected" population, while reserving "Mitannian" for the ethnicity and language of the Indo-Iranic (Aryan) ruling and state-forming stratum. The misunderstanding here in no way vitiates Prof. Diakonoff's point, I simply regret that various practical and health problems prevent further communication with him at the present juncture. YLA]. The word has a satisfactory Common Northeastern Caucasian etymology and the suffix *-anne* is the usual native Hurrian suffix for names of groups or professions. In UPS 15, 4 (without context) we encounter also a suffixed form, viz. the adjective ^{LÚ}*ma-ri-ḫe*. The form /mariahe/ in our text can be connected with Hurrian adjectives in *-aḫḫe* for groups of persons: this is thus another bit of evidence in favor of a Hurro-Urartian origin of the term, cf. KHACHIKYAN, *Khurritskij i urartskij jazyki*, 1985, Erevan, p. 60 (add to the Hurrian examples quoted there also Hurrian /unz-ar-ahhe/, apparently "aborigine"). It does not seem certain from UPD 12 that the Urartian *mare*-men were charioteers, but they certainly were a top group of the fortress personnel.

[28] The subjunctive article is preposed: *šú-re-le*, ^{KUR}*šú-re-le*$_{10}$, ^{LÚ}KUR.KUR-*e* (in the titles: KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}) are spellings of the word *šurele* (pl.) which we have discussed elsewhere. Literally perhaps "arms"; the top group of the original Urartian population.

[29] *ú-ú-la-le* is the predicate of the sentence, cf. §9, 1.14, n. 18. This is a possibilitive, cf. KHACHIKYAN, *op. cit.*: 111; cf. *ú-ú-še* UKN 36, 23; 128 BI, 26, an apposition to /ašaze/ "part set aside, share (of the warriors)" — perhaps "the required share"(?).

[30] It seems that another temple is meant by *sûse*, not that referred to above as É.BARÁG (which may be equivalent to the "Haldian gates"?). A sacrifice in the *sûse*-temple (or before it) seems to have been the privilege of the *šurele*-freemen.

[31] Restored from: UKN 65, 27; *ur-bu-le-né ḫa-lu-le áš-ḫu-le* "would slaughter, perform/organize (lit."raise up") a feast"; UKN 96, 3: ^{d}*Ḫal-di-e áš-ḫa-áš-tú-le ḫa-lu-le* "they performed/organized a feast for Haldi".

[32] Cf. n. 22 above.

[33] The term *aluse* is known from the Urartian royal titles: UKN 72, 5-7: [BU]ZÚR *tar-a-i-e* BUZÚR *al-a-su-ú-i-né-e* BUZÚR ^{KUR}*šú-ra-a-ú-e* [BU]ZÚR ^{KUR}*Bi-i-a-i-na-a-ú-e* BUZÚR *e-re-e-la-a-ú-e a-lu-se* $^{[URU]}$*Ṭu-uš-pa-a pa-a-ta-re* "(Minuâ), the great king, the mighty king, king of the *šurele*, king of the Biainele, king of kings, the governor of the city of Ṭušpâ". In the Keläšin bilingual text *aluse* is translated as *šaknu*, the Akkadian word for "governor". In the passage under discussion it is of course not the king who is meant (for he is mentioned below), but the governor of Teišebâ's City.

[34] /man-u-le/ optative of the causative, lit. "may he let be".

count (?)[35], may he go, (and) from/by the counted[36] [..........] before the Haldian gates".

§10: *a-le ur-bu-a-ṣe* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-na-né* KÁ *šú-i-né-né ze-el-de* ŠAG ᵐ*Ru-sa-a ar-du-le-né*

§10: "What (is brought) for an offering of all (that is) in the Haldian gates, the liver and the heart, let one give to Rusâ"[37].

§11: *a-še* BUZÚR-*né* ᵈIŠKUR-*né* URU *ma-nu-le* UZU-*né-né* TAG-*ṣe-né-né pár-z/ṣa-né ze-el-de* BUZÚR-*e ar-du-le-né a-le-e* [x x x x x x] (2) *a-šú-le* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-né* É *ku-i* ZI^MEŠ *ze-el-de ši-la-né-né i-šá-né ši-i-né* ᴱ*se-er-ḫa-né-né ma-né-né na-ḫi-ze* [x x x x x x].

§11: "When the king should be in Teišebâ's city, from the sacrificial[38] meat, from the carcass[39], let one give the liver to the king, (but) what [......] is left[40] — to the Haldian house (= the temple), with the

[35] /mir-i-pte/ is an abstract noun from **mir-* which may mean "(to) count". Cf. UKN 20 obv. 32, rev. 13: LUGAL^MEŠ ^KUR E-*ti-ú-ḫe-né-le za-ši-le ú-i mi-re ip-ḫa-a-re* "the strong kings of the Etiuans, countless grief (ruination)"; cf. the verb *ipḫ-* "to destroy, ruin", and the goddess (of destruction, grief, trouble, woe?) ᵈ*Ip-ḫa-re* UKN 27, 22. Cf. *Frau Sorge* in German.

[36] At first glace, *mi-ru-ni* seems to be a 3sg. of a transitive verb ("counts") if we accept the interpretation in n. 35. However, syntactically such a form seems to be misplaced. We suggest this is an ablative of a participle of state /mir-o/.

[37] /ar-(e)d-u-le-ne/ is the optative of the imperfective-durative aspect (*-ed-*) of the verb *ar-* "to give". The translation "liver" for *zelde* is required by its being coupled with ŠAG "heart" (an alternative translation may be "fat"). On the Northeastern Caucasian origin of Urartian *zel-* "liver" see I.M. DIAKONOFF and S.A. STAROSTIN, *Hurro-Urartian as an Eastern Caucasian Language*, 1986, München, p. 48. The main part of the Greek sacrifice — the σπλάγχνη — consisted of the heart, liver, kidney, etc.; this was consumed by the sacrificers, while the deity received the thigh-bone with the meat roled up in fat. Cf. PAULY – WISSOWA, *s.v. Opfer* and, obviously, any pertinent locus in Homer.

[38] An uncommon collection of postpositional case morphs: TAG-*ṣe-né-né* = /urbu-a-ṣe-ne-ne/!

[39] The word *parz/ṣâ* "carcass" occurs in common contexts with UZU "meat" and *zelde* "liver" or "fat", cf. UKN 89, 7-11: *a-le* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-n[a-né* (?) *ḫu-]ra-di-e* TAG-*e a-le pu-ru-le-n[é* x x x-*ar-]pa-ú-e šú-i-né-né pár-z/ṣa-né ze-el-[de* ᵐ*Mì-]nu-a* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-še ú-ṣu-né* DINGIR^MEŠ *ze-el-de iš-ti-né-né* BUZÚR^MEŠ *ú-ṣe-di-la-ti-né* "what for a [war]rior, [from among th]ose of Haldi, (is) his sacrifice, which (is) from (his own) house (= Hurrian *purle*),... (a genitive or dative pl.) of the whole (*šuine*) carcass, the liver Haldi has destined (?) for [Mì]nuâ; so that from now on (lit. "from here") the gods may destine (?) the liver for the kings" (the last verbal form is that of the finalis, or or mood of aim, cf. KHACHIKYAN, *op. cit.*: 111, 142). There existed a special house (É) /parz/ṣudibido/ which was somehow connected with animal sacrifice (perhaps it was a slaughter-house). Cf. UKN 88-90; UKN 299. The text UKN 142 partly repeats UKN 448.

[40] Here /aš-/ probably means "to be left over", an intransitive form opposed to the transitive /aš-/ "to leave, drive", cf. UKN 130, 13; 155 E 11. Cf. also the middle verb /aš-a-/ "to drive off for oneself", and the participle of state /aš-o/ "fugitive", lit. perhaps "the

blood[41] (and) the liver from the performed (sacrifice) (?)[42]; after (that) (or: from there) let one carry it away, (but) from the *serḫane*-house let it be *nâḫize*[43] [............]".

§12: *ši-al-de* UZU-*né su-re ku-i* ZI *ši-la-né-né* ᵈ*Ḫal-di-né* É *mì-i a-i-né-i zu-ma-ye*$_x$ *áš-du-ú-né a-[l]e aš-du-le-e* [x x x x x x] (21) *ši-na-am-de-né mu-ri-e a-ši-i-né*

§12: "... may be taken away (?)[44] of the meat; the *sure*[45] with[46] the blood from the performed (?) (sacrifice) for the Haldian gates (= the temple) no one must leave for/in the *zumâye*[47]; who should leave (it)[48] [for/in the z.], the double[49] let him leave for the (Haldian) house (?)"[50].

left over (one), deserter", UKN 158, 6. There is also another homonymous verb /aš-/ corresponding to the Hurrian /ašš-/ (as discussed in n. 21 above) "to sit" (intransitive), "to put,set" (transitive), cf. UKN 29, 6-7; 155 B, 23. Again, neither verb is derived from Indo-European.

[41] The sumerogram ZI means, of course, "soul" and "life". Here the context probably requires "blood". As a part of the body, Sumerian zi means "throat, larynx" which would hardly fit here. Cf. 12, 21

[42] The verbal root *šil-* is at present attested, in the gerundial form /-šilâ(e)/, only in the proper name /Inu-š-šil-â(e)/ UPD 7, 1. The present translation is guesswork.

[43] This is a noun with a *-zi* suffix, probably from the verbal root *naḫ-* (intransitive) "to ascend", (transitive) "to take away" (or "to bring"). For the formation cf. /arm-o-ze/ "seed, family(?)", /aš-(a-)ze/ "maintenance, share(?)". From a semantic viewpoint, perhaps analogous to Akkadian *biltu* "tribute, rent" from the verbal root **wbl* "to carry (away)"?

[44] /ši-al-de/ is a supine of the verb *ši-* "to go" with the stirps suffix *-al-*, probably causative (cf. *-am/n/r-*, KHACHIKYAN, *op. cit.*: 60) < /*ši-al-ed-(â)e/; here we suppose an adverbial use of the form; the translation, of course, is unreliable.

[45] A part of the carcass. But see also UPD 7 (UKN 462), 9.

[46] *kui, kue* means "also" (UKN 27, 27; 155 C, 28) or "with" (UKN 276 obv. 8); *mi-kui* means "even not" (UKN 19, 35; 280, 12). Cf. German "mit nichten".

[47] A gerundive participle from a non-attested verb *zum-*; the text probably speaks of an unlawful carrying away of certain (sacral) parts of the sacrificial animal for private use in the home (?).

[48] /aš-(e)d-u-ne/ is the imperfective-durative aspect, 3sg. of the verb *aš-* "to leave"; /aš-i-ne/ is the 3sg. jussive (= imperative) of the same verb.

[49] Cf. Hurrian *šin-am* "to double"; probably a gerundive participle in *-âe/-e* from the imperfective form in *-(e)d-*; cf. the Hurrian distributive numerals in *-d-âe*. This gloss supports the translation of Urartian /šiše/ < /*šišše/ < /*šin-še/ "second"; cf. Hurrian *šin-* "two".

[50] The other context for *mure* is UKN 155 C, 27-31: ᴱ*mu-re-le a-le* ᴸᵁ́AD-*še* ᴸᵁ́AD.AD-*še* *[ši-]du-a-le a-ú-i-e ku-ul-me-e ma-ne-du...* I (?) ME L ᴱ*mu-re-e ḫa-ú-bé ta-áš-mu-bé* "the *mure* which the fathers and grandfathers built, where also his/their wealth was being present... 150 *mure* I took (and) destroyed". The *mure* is obviously, to judge by its determinative, a structure; however, the suggested interpretation "(temple) store" is unconvincing: building temple stores is not a family affair, and they are not counted in the hundreds. The simplest equation would be *mure* = "house"; however, there is also the Urartian *purule* "home"(?), a hapax which may correspond to Hurrian *purle* "house";

This is a comparatively short and still in many respects obscure text; however, I hope that I have been able to remove some of the obscurities, and that already now we can arrive at certain historical conclusions.

First of all, one should note the specifically Urartian custom of establishing temples of the state deity Haldi in all conquered or newly founded cities (*passim* in UKN; something that kings of the other Ancient Oriental empires practically never did). Of the Urartian inscriptions many are devoted to the establishment and inauguration of such temples. A question naturally arises: what was the economic role of Haldi's local temples? In the Urartian sources there is no mention of royal or temple field estates, and it is to be supposed that they did not exist. Orchards are, however, mentioned; and there is little doubt that the temples owned large herds of domestic animals. These probably grew out of sacrificial grants (cf. the grandiose herds in Neo-Sumerian Puzriš-Dagān). Such grants were made, first of all, by the king himself who, as is well known, drove home cattle and sheep in thousands after each campaign. But, no doubt, also private persons donated animals to the temples. The text of Sarduri II on the reduction of taxes and services (UKN 155 G) clearly includes domestic animals in the *isioše* ("burden, exaction", or, according to G. A. Melikišvili, "surplus") which was laid upon a certain category of persons, namely the /urordele/.

It follows from our text that regular sacrifices could be established also in connection with actions of private persons, e.g. with the assignment of one's son to temple service or labor. The verb *ur-* seems to point to the fact that the young man in question passed into the social category of *urordele*, on which see below. The sacrifice made on this occasion would hardly be an official matter — it was probably made by the young man's father (§8, 13). A part of the sacrificial meat went to private persons as well, according to §12, 12 — it stands to reason that also the sacrificial animal belonged here to a private person: the text (§10, 18) mentions all those sacrifices in the Haldian gates, of which the king was entitled to a part; so the rest probably belonged to private persons.

If our interpretation of *mir-, miripte* is correct (cf. n. 35), then special temple accounts of the offerings were kept, which should not surprise us.

another possible interpretation of *mure* would be "dwelling tower", a typical building in Northeast Caucasian and Hurro-Urartian regions. A temple can be — and is — called "a (deity's) house", and the same usage may be expected for "tower". Preliminarily, we suggest the translation "house" (as the broadest cover term, whatever the specific nature of the building in question).

The foundation of Haldi's temples in each conquered district must have made the problem of supplying labor-power acute. From §8 it can be seen that the recruitment was compulsory, since every person (we are talking about the local inhabitants of the land Waṣâ, or <<'Azâ>>, where the City of Teišebâ was situated), who failed to assign his son to temple service, must "collect stones from the barren land" (the translation is not to be doubted). Naturally one wants to know: What is meant? Are these stones to be used for building houses (the residential houses in Karmir-blur were built of rocks or boulders, cf. K. L. Ohanesian, *Arkhitektura Teišebaini, Kamir-blur* IV, Erevan, 1955: 79)? Or is this to be simply a punishment by senseless hard labor, like scutching hemp? The first seems more probable.

Out text confirms the data of the inscription UKN 155 G and the document UPD 12 on the division of the population of the Urartian Kingdom into the social categories *šurele, ḫurâdinele* and *urordele* (plus the slaves, *purâle*).

The *šurele* (sumerogram KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}) may be the plural of *šure,* ^{GIŠ}*šure* which possibly means "weapon, sword" (certainly not "chariot"!). Note that (1) the term *šurele* is part of the title of the Urartian king (*erele šurâwe* "king of the *šurele*" = sumerogram KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} = Akkadian *šar kiššāti* "king of the multitudes"); (2) the *šurele* are obviously the armed guard of the Urartian royal palace (UPD 12), and part of the Urartian armed forces (UKN 24, obv. 25-27, rev. 31-34: *i-na-né pa-ar-tú-ú* ^{m}*Iš-pu-ú-i-né-še...* ^{m}*Mì-nu-a-še... [mì]-i a-le-e* KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}*-e! še-ri-du-tú-[ú] [i]-ú* É.GAL^{MEŠ} *áš-ú-la-l[e!]* "This Išpuwine and Minuâ led away, [exc]ept what they partioned out for the *šurele*, when they had to[51] leave the fortresses"); (3) the *šurele* had the privelege of sacrificing in the temple itself (*sûse*) and not in the "gates of Haldi". Moreover, it is possible that the rule according to which sacrificial animals should be taken from the *serḫane*-houses belonging to the palace elite *(mariaḫe)*, refers to a group of the *šurele*. On these grounds it can be deduced that the *šurele* were the dominant group in the Urartian society — its numerous free community members. They can be compared with the "men of Hurri" in Mitanni, and the "lords of Hattuša" in the Hittite kingdom.

The analogy with Hurrian and Hittite conditions gives rise to the question, whether or not also the Urartian term *šurele* was originally an ethnic one. This, I believe, can be answered in the affirmative. Iariris, a regent of Carchemish in the early 8th century B.C.E., writes in his

[51] Debitive!

inscription A6, 2-6: "(the gods) Tarhuntas and Tiwat have led my name to Heaven for my justice, they have led my name beyond the border (of the land), I have been heard of in Egypt, heard of in that Babylon, in that Musa (= Phrygia?), in Muska (= the land of the Muški, or Proto-Armenians) and in Sura (have I been) heard of ".

Furthermore, in the inscription A 15a the same regent states that "the writing of the City (of Carchemish, i.e. Hieroglyphic Luwian), the writing of Sura, the writing of Asura (= Assyria), the writing of Taiman[52] (and) twelve languages I knew" (translation according to A. Kosyan; cf. J.D. Hawkins, "Kargamis" *RLA* V, 5/6, *s.v.;* references). Originally I thought that Sura was Syria, and the "writing of Sura" was Aramaic; formerly it has been thought that the term Syria, first attested in Herodotus (VI, 63) was a variant of the term Assyria, and this may still be the correct explanation. It is not impossible that the land (or the "city") Sura, named by Iariris between Carchemish and Assyria, and which had a writing and presumably a language of its own, may have been the *šurele* (read [surelə] of the Urartian texts. Actually, of course, *šurele* denotes not a land, but a group of persons, since they are included (as KUR.KUR^MEŠ^) in the list of palace personnel UPD 12.

A juxtaposition of the inscriptions of Sardure II (155 G, 13; 161, 8-9; 164, 8-11; 165, 9-13; 168, 8-11; 170, 7-8) and Rusâ II (278, 10-11; 280, 14-16; 281, 27-30) shows that KUR.KUR^MEŠ^ and ^KUR^*šú-ra-ú-e* (genitive of *šurele)* are identical, while the bilingual inscription of Išpuwine and Minuâ at Keläšin (UKN 19 Ur. 2, 18, Ass. 2, 16) shows that ŠÚ (= Akkadian *kiššātu*) and *šurele* are identical. The word *kiššātu* is often translated as "universe, totality", but perhaps *šar kiššāti* is not so much "king of the universe (or totality)" as "king of the multitudes, of peoples". In Urartian KUR.KUR^MEŠ^ certainly refers to men, cf. UPD 12.

What is the correlation between the terms *šurele* and *biaine* (to be read [viânə]), the latter being oposed to *luluine* "foreigner" in UKN 281, 42(?) It is well known that the official name of the Kingdom of Urarṭu

[52] Taiman is enigmatic. The Phoenician-Aramaic script and the Urartian hieroglyphs are the two possibilities of still another writing system in this region during the early 8th century. But "Taiman" for Phoenician seems inexplicable. Therefore, at a guess, I would opt for the Urartian hieroglyphic script, explaining "Taiman" as "Taochian" (Assyrian *Daiēni*, Urartian *Diauḫe*; but originally the voiceless dental **t-* might be expected in this originally Hurrian (?) district). The script may be in Hurrian, Proto-Armenian, or in an unknown language, hardly actually in Urartian, since that language already had another writing system (the cuneiform). [The editor calls attention, without prejudice, to the article by Alexander LEHRMAN "Essays in Anatolian Onomastics", *Names* 26 (1978): 220-230 of which Section "1. Hieroglyphic Luwain *Taiman*" (pp. 220-224) examines the history of this problem and proposes an alternate solution. YLA].

was *Biainele* "the Vianic, i.e. Vanic (lands)". W. Nagel has expressed the opinion that the titles "king of the *šurele*" and "king of Biainele" **together** = the title "king of KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}", translated "king of the two countries". However it is certain that the sumerogram KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} stands for *šurele*, separately from Biainele, and does not mean "two lands".

In my opinion *Biainele* refers to all subjects of the Urartian king, including both the original Urartians, the *šurele*, who had a privileged status, and the conquered, "associated" population, the *ḫurâdinele* (the latter term including the warriors fed and maintained by the king), and also the helots, the *urordele*. We shall discuss the latter two terms below.

The text UKN 155 G is an account of a decree (*ardâie*) issued by Sardure II on the reduction of obligatory services and taxes — of the "burden", /isioše/ (translation conventional, see discussion above) incumbent on the different population groups of the Urartian kingdom. About the *šurele* it is stated: *a-le ar-da-i-e i-né i-si-ú-še* ^{KUR}*šú-ra-a-né-e-di-né tú-ru-ú-bé* "(by a) decree (*ardâie*, from *ar-* "to give"), what was the *isioše*, for the *šurele* I made away", namely to the extent of the following: 90 chariots, 3600 riders, and 352,011 "warriors, both on horseback and on foot" (^{LÚ}ERÉN *e-we*$_x$ PIT.ḪAL.LU^{MEŠ}-*e-i e-we*$_x$ ^{LÚ}ERÉN.GÌR.II.^{MEŠ}). No duties in kind are mentioned, and I believe the *šurele* did not have to pay them at all; their original obligation was only military service. If, as it was usual in preindustrial societies, every healthy male before reaching old age, was a warrior, the figures would account for about 20% of the corresponding group of population, and the total of the *šurele* population would be more than 1,750,000[53]. It is probable that Sardure freed nearly all the *šurele* from military service, since in the later inscriptions they are no longer mentioned as warriors of the army; only the *ḫurâdinele* are mentioned as such. However, a certain number of the *šurele* continued in service, because, if everybody was freed by the decree, this could be said in so many words; instead the text mentions only by how much the contingent was diminished. Moreover, in the document UPD 12, dating from the reign of Rusâ II, there are mentioned, among the fortress personnel of Rusâhinele, 300 ^{LÚ}KUR.KUR^{MEŠ}-*e*, below the *mare* and above the eunuchs, etc. These were probably the palace guard.

After the *šurele* the text 155 G mentions the *ḫurâdinele* (ll. 5-6): *i-na-ná ar-da-i-e* ^{LÚ}A.SI-*na-né-e-di-né tú-ru-bé a-le i-si-ú-še ma-a-nu ḫu-šú-bé*

[53] The total population of Urartu would be ca. six-seven million, which is a plausible figure. Cf. also the computations in I. M. DIAKONOFF, *The Pre-history of the Armenian People*, 1984, Delmar, N.Y., pp. 123ss.

"by that (same) decree for the *ḫurâdinele* I made away what *isioše* there was, I laid ([it] down)". There follows a list of the annulled obligations.

In the descriptions of the campaigns of the Urartian kings, except for the text of Išpuwine and Minuâ, UKN 24, where the KUR.KUR^{MEŠ} (= Urartian *šurele*) are mentioned as warriors, the only warriors that are mentioned, are always called *ḫurâdinele*, or ^{LÚ}A.SI. Since both they and the *šurele* were armed, there arises the question as to what was the difference between them. Note that ^{LÚ}A.SI is not a sumerogram, and that no such word occurs in Akkadian either. According to our interpretation, this is an abbreviation of the Hittite akkadogram ^{LÚ}A.SI.*RUM* erroneously, but naturally, misread (probably already by the Hurrian scribes) as ^{LÚ}A.SI.*aš*, the sign *rum/aš* having been taken for the Hittite case-ending. ^{LÚ}A.SI.*RUM* is, of course, a "captive" or "prisoner of war". In the Urartian army (as well as in the Assyrian one) there certainly were contingents formed from prisoners of war Thus the captive inhabitants of Sophene and Melitene, displaced by Argišti I (UKN 128 A2, 14-22) to Erebune (now Arinberd in Erevan), i.e. to the frontier[54], would certainly be armed to defend it (a practice also common in Assyria). However, except for the one attestation in UKN 24 (and UPD 12), no other warriors but *ḫurâdinele* are known from Urartian inscriptions. Therefore, we must suppose that to this category belonged all military contingents recruited from all conquered territories, even those conquered very long ago (i.e. from at least 80% of the area of the Urartian kingdom). Note that the same can be said about the recruitment of the Hittite army.

Proclaiming the reduction of the "burden" of the *ḫurâdinele*, Sardure II lists the following: 121 men, 1408 horses, 132 mules, 21,357 cows and bulls, 35,467 sheep, 2114 battle arms (TIL[?].LI^{MEŠ} *gu-nu-ši-né-le*), 1332 bows and 47,970 arrows (one quiver or 36 arrows per bow). This list probably shows that the *ḫurâdinele* included not only warriors, but also armorers. The reduction of the obligations is comparatively moderate and, in spite of the literal meaning of the text, it does not seem that this was a **com-**

[54] The following is a narrative about the settling of Erbune: *qi-i-ú-ra-a-né-e qu-ul-di-i-né-e ma-a-nu ú-i* ye_x*-e-i ši-da-ú-re iš-ti-né* DAN.DU^{MEŠ} *ar-ni-u-ši-né-le ṣa-du-bé iš-ti-né* VI (?) LIM VI ME LÚ^{MEŠ} *gu-nu-ši-né-i e-er-ṣe-du-bé iš-ti-i-né* ^{KUR}*Ḫa-a-te-e* ^{KUR}*Ṣu-pa-a-né* "the land was barren, nothing was built there; mighty deeds I did there: 6600 (?) of men of battle I settled there (from) Hâte (= Melitene) and from Ṣupâ (= Sophene)". This was a frontier region which was just conquered; obviously the men of Melitene and Sophene (= Proto-Armenians?) were settled here to secure the borders. The same practice was well known to the Assyrians: thus the deported Israelites were settled on the frontier of Assyria in the *'årê Mådåy* (ערי מדי) "towns of Media" (II Kings 17:6 & 18:11 in the phrase — both times — "Exiled them to Ashur, and put them in Ḥalaḥ, and in Ḥabor by the River Gozan and in the cities of Maday").

plete liberation of this group from their obligations; on the contrary, it sems that the group did not benefit much from the decree. We think that the *ḫurâdinele* were and continued to be the main body of the Urartian army, and that their military obligation could not be substantially reduced.

Unfortunately, it is not quite clear, where the list of reductions for the benefit of the *ḫurâdinele* ends, and the list of the reduced obligations of the last group, the *urordele*, begins. But most probably the *ḫurâdinele* list ends with the arrows. According to the etymology of the name of the last group they were agriculturists (from *ur-*, also *ur-ul-* "to work, to till the soil", cf. UKN 268, 11-13: LÚDUMU-*še* URU*Ṭu-uš-pa-i-né[-še]* ⌜*ú*⌝*-ru-lu-né* [KI*TIM* m]*Ru-sa-ḫi-na-ka-i* "the Ṭušpian citizen (lit. "son") tilled the soil before [the city] Rusâhinele"); and, judging by the Karmir-blur inscription that we are discussing (§8), they supplied the temples with working personnel; UKN 155 G shows that their obligation was to deliver agricultural goods (cf. the Assyrian tax *šē nusāḫi*, which by no means included grain alone). Probably, the *urordele* thus provided the army with victuals. It was they (or, at least, also they) who were bound by oath for all times to make certain deliveries to the temple (/ešimeṣe elmoše/). The requisitions from them were reduced by Sardure II ("so and so much" LÚ*ú-ru-ur-da-a-ne-di-né tú-ru-ú-bé*, l. 11) to the amount of 1,022,133 *kape* of barley (a *kape* was, according to UKN 419, equal to Assyrian BÁN.EŠ, or 30 sìla, about 20 to 30 liters; i.e. about 1500 centners in all)[55]; then 111 *aqarqe* of grapes and 86 *aqarqe* 7 *ṭiruse* and 20 *kale* of oil, 779 minas (about 360kgs.) of copper (probably as "money")[56] and 336 slaves. If this refers to the whole kingdom, it must be regarded as an unimportant reduction. Obviously, the reduction for the *urordele* was still less than that for the *ḫurâdinele*.

[55] The Urartian *kape (kapi)* has its forerunner in the Hittite DUG*kappi* and is itself the forerunner of the Iranian Achaemenian *kp* (/kap/, Elephantine), also **kapīča* on the evidence of the Greek borrowing καπίθα, later Aramaic *kapīš* (כפיש) and Iranian *kapīč*. This was a measure roughly corresponding to only one Greek χοῖνιξ (sometimes two) — a measure of volume of the order of one liter. It is not known in RAE (Royal Achaemenian Elamite). [The editor calls attention to the discussion of the later chain of lending of this word in É. BENVENISTE, *Études sur la langue ossète*, 1959:16. Paris: Pehlevi *kapīč* → Armenian *kapič* → Georgian *k'abic'i*→ Ossetic (Digor) *k'abic/k'abis*, with Farsi *kavīz* not being part of this chain, but a direct Old Iranian > Middle Iranian > New Iranian development. YLA].

[56] One 1.5 m. high pythos from Karmir-blur could hold about 4.5 – 5.0 *aqarqe*,cf. B. B. PIOTROVSKI, in UPD, p. 6. Thus all the *ḫurâdinele* got a reduction of their dues to the amount of ca. 500 pithoi of grapes and ca. 400 pithoi of oil, which does not tell us much about the total number of warriors classified in this category. As to the *urordele*, they would be at least as numerous as the *šurele*, which means a figure not less than two million.

Below the *urordele* stood the slaves, *purâle* (mainly, no doubt, private). They are mentioned in Sardure II's inscription 155 G, 1.11, and are also attested elsewhere (UKN 40, obv. B8; 128 BI, 18, 39; 155 A, 17; F, 20; 156 BI, 7; 264, 25; 265,3; 276 obv., 16, rev., 31; 311 obv.; UPD 1, 6; 4, 6; 11, x + 3). Probably they were recruited mostly from prisoners of war. The Urartian inscriptions fairly often mention the capturing of prisoners by individual warriors, and the distribution of captives to the *šurele* is mentioned in UKN 24, obv. 27, rev. 34; but only to the *ḫurâdinele* under Sardure II (UKN 155!, 12; C, 46; F, 28; captives as a gift of the king, UKN 156 C, 30). From UKN 155 G, 11 it appears that the *urordele* who, no doubt, were the main mass of the working population, could not only own slaves, but even sometimes perform their obligatory payments by delivering slaves to the state.

The number of slaves in Urartu is unknown; even if we know the official number of captives, we do not know how many of them were turned into slaves, how many into helots, how many into eunuchs (a lot surely, cf. UPD 121), and how many were supplied with arms and became frontier guards (see n. 54).

Thus the text we have discussed furnishes, in conjunction with some others, useful data on the social composition of the Urartian society.

CILICIE ET CANAAN DANS LES DOCUMENTS CHYPROMINOENS

Jean FAUCOUNAU

Dans *Syria* 1977 nous avons présenté un premier essai de déchiffrement du grand cylindre trouvé à Enkomi en 1967 par Cl. Schaeffer (cf. Faucounau 1977). Cette tentative de lecture nous a conduit à attribuer ce cylindre à un certain *Sarru-ziti*, fils de *Yakubi*, du pays du *Ḫana*.

Nous n'avions pas à l'époque voulu tirer de conclusions historiques de cette lecture, principalement parce que la valeur *zi* du signe S_{88}[1], déterminée seulement par la méthode de déchiffrement, sans recoupement possible avec le Linéaire B ou le chypriote puisqu'il s'agit d'un signe particulier au chyprominoen, ne nous paraissait pas suffisamment assurée.

Nous n'avons plus aujourd'hui ces scrupules: car les valeurs que nous avons proposées il y a plus de dix ans se sont trouvées confirmées d'une part lors de l'étude des *Scripta minora* que nous n'avions pas utilisés pour notre déchiffrement, d'autre part par la découverte de nouveaux documents. En particulier, la valeur *zi* du signe S_{88} s'est vu confirmée par l'inscription du cylindre n° 4 de Kalavassos où peut se lire le NP *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti* (voir Faucounau [1988])[2].

Dans la présente étude, nous examinerons les enseignements historiques que l'on peut tirer d'une part du cylindre n° 4 de Kalavassos, d'autre part du grand cylindre d'Enkomi dont nous donnons en Annexe I une transcription complète.

I. Le cylindre 4 de Kalavassos (voir Fig. 1)

On sait que nous lisons le texte:

i-le- x-x		"[Pour son ou ses] dieu(x)
NP *ku-ka-zi-ta*		Ḫuḫḫa-zita
	soit	
a-ya-ti		a fait (ce monument)
7		la 7e année de son règne".

[1] Numérotation des signes suivant le tableau d'É. MASSON (1974: 13-15).

[2] La forme du signe *zi* dans le cylindre de Kalavassos n'est pas la forme "standard", mais son identité avec S_{88} ne saurait faire doute.

FIGURE 1

Cylindre n° 4 de Kalavassos

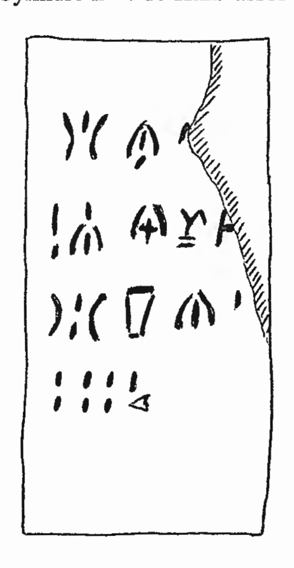
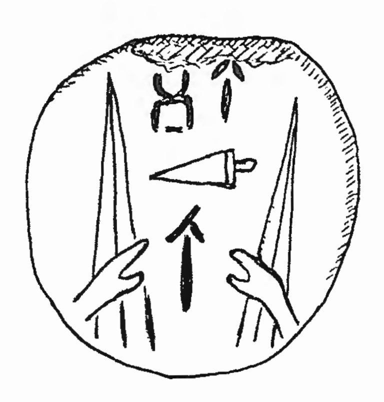


FIGURE 2

Sceau de Tarse n° 54



Sceau de l'Asmolean Museum n° 327



Le nom propre *Ḫuḫḫa-zita* est un nom louvite. le terme *ḫuḫḫa-*: "grand-père, ancêtre" est hittito-louvite. Quant au terme *ziti-/zita-*, c'est aussi un mot louvite signifiant "homme", au sens de "viril". Les noms propres en *Ḫuḫḫa-* et *-ziti* sont relativement nombreux dans les textes hittites. Ils sont aussi connus en Syrie du Nord à l'époque de l'expansion hittite: on trouve plusieurs noms en *-ziti* à Ugarit (cf. F. Grōndahl, *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit*: 291) et un nom en *Ḫuḫḫa-* est attesté sur un sceau de l'Asmolean Museum (sceau n° 327) en provenance du Jebel Abu Gelgel (cf. D.A. Kennedy [1959:73]). Comme l'indique E. Laroche (1963: 324/325), les composés en *-ziti* sont inconnus à Kanesh, mais très répandus à la fin de l'Empire. Par ailleurs le terme *ziti-*, bien que louvite, n'est pas indoeuropéen. Absent en Cappadoce, il provient selon toute vraisemblance du Sud anatolien, de ce *Kizzuwatna* aux frontières flottantes, région où comme en Syrie du Nord se sont mélangés à haute époque Hittites/Louvites, Sémites et Hourrites. On peut, semble-t-il, le rapprocher de l'arabe *Sayyid*: "seigneur" (à l'origine du NP El Cid) et de l'hébreu שדי (*šdy*): "puissant", ce qui lui donnerait une origine ouest-sémitique. Le composé *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti* ("mon grand-père est viril") est d'ailleurs le nom d'un roi d'*Arzawa*, assez puissant pour s'opposer à Muršiliš II (1345-1315) en incitant le royaume voisin du *Millawanda* à se détourner de l'alliance hittite pour rechercher celle de l'*Aḫḫiyawa* (cf. P. Garelli [1969:178]). Un détail est important: Dans le récit de la campagne de Muršiliš contre l'*Arzawa*, il est mentionné que *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti* parvint à s'enfuir par mer. Vers quel pays? On peut se poser la question. Plusieurs auteurs ont pensé que c'était Chypre. Il semble en effet qu'au moment de l'expansion maximum de l'Empire arzawien de *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti*, l'Arzawa ait englobé la Cilicie et peut-être l'île de Chypre, ou tout au moins une partie de celle-ci. Le cylindre n° 4 serait la preuve tangible de cette annexion.

Si, comme on peut donc le supposer, le *Ḫuḫḫa-zita* du cylindre est le même que le *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti* adversaire de Muršiliš II on obtiendrait une datation pour ce monument, voisine de celle obtenue à partir des données archéologiques[3]. En supposant que la durée du règne de *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti* fut d'environ 15/20 ans, le calcul donne:

Avènement de Muršiliš II: 1345
Campagne d'Arzawa et fuite de Ḫuḫḫa-ziti: 1341
Début du règne de Ḫuḫḫa-ziti: 1360/1355 environ
Conquête de Chypre par l'Arzawa et date du cylindre: 1353/1348

[3] Communication de I. et A. Todd que nous tenons à remercier ici pour les précieux renseignements qu'ils nous ont fournis.

Le cylindre serait donc daté de 1350 environ, et le bâtiment où il fut trouvé serait la résidence chypriote du roi d'Arzawa.

La preuve que ce prince règna, alors qu'il n'était que "Fils de Roi", sur la Cilicie pourrait éventuellement être apportée par une empreinte de sceau trouvée à Tarse (n° 54 de Gelb [1956:252]), que nous reproduisons dans notre figure 2. E. Laroche (1960:142) voit dans le groupe ARROW-STRONG de Gelb le signe L_{269}: "Armée". C'est, à notre avis, plutôt le groupe L_{331}: "grand-père", décomposé en ses éléments: $L_{468/265}$: "autel à libations (?)" = *ḫuminali* (?) (cf. hitt. *ḫuppar*: "coupe à libations", louvite *ḫummati*: "socle") et L_{268b} valant *ka*[4], soit par acrophonie: *ḫukka*, avec dissimilation du second *ḫ* en *k*.

L'interprétation du sceau n° 54 de Tarse serait ainsi: *Ḫukka-ziti* — FILS de ROI.

On peut se demander quelle est la langue de l'inscription du cylindre de Kalavassos. C'est sans aucun doute une sorte de créole sémito-anatolien: Si le terme *i-le* "dieu" est sémitique, le verbe *aya-*: "faire" est anatolien, ainsi que la désinence *-ti* marquant l'ACTION en proto-IE (cf. J. Faucounau [1982:167/168]). Compte tenu de l'origine du roi *Ḫuḫḫa-ziti*, nous sommes tentés de penser que c'est la langue qui était parlée en Cilicie côtière, dans cette région soumise à une double influence: sémito-syrienne et louvito-arzawienne. La langue parlée à Chypre devait être un créole du même type, mais où "dieu" se disait *al-* (et non *el-*): cf. **Alat-ya* > *Alašia*: "le pays de la Déesse", ce qui rappelle, comme nous l'avons signalé à diverses reprises (cf. Faucounau [1980:398]), le monde sémito-anatolien de *Kaneš-Kultépé* (cf. noms propres cappadociens en *Ala-* tels *Ala-dim*, etc., Contenau 1919).

II. Le Cylindre de Schaeffer (voir Fig. 3)

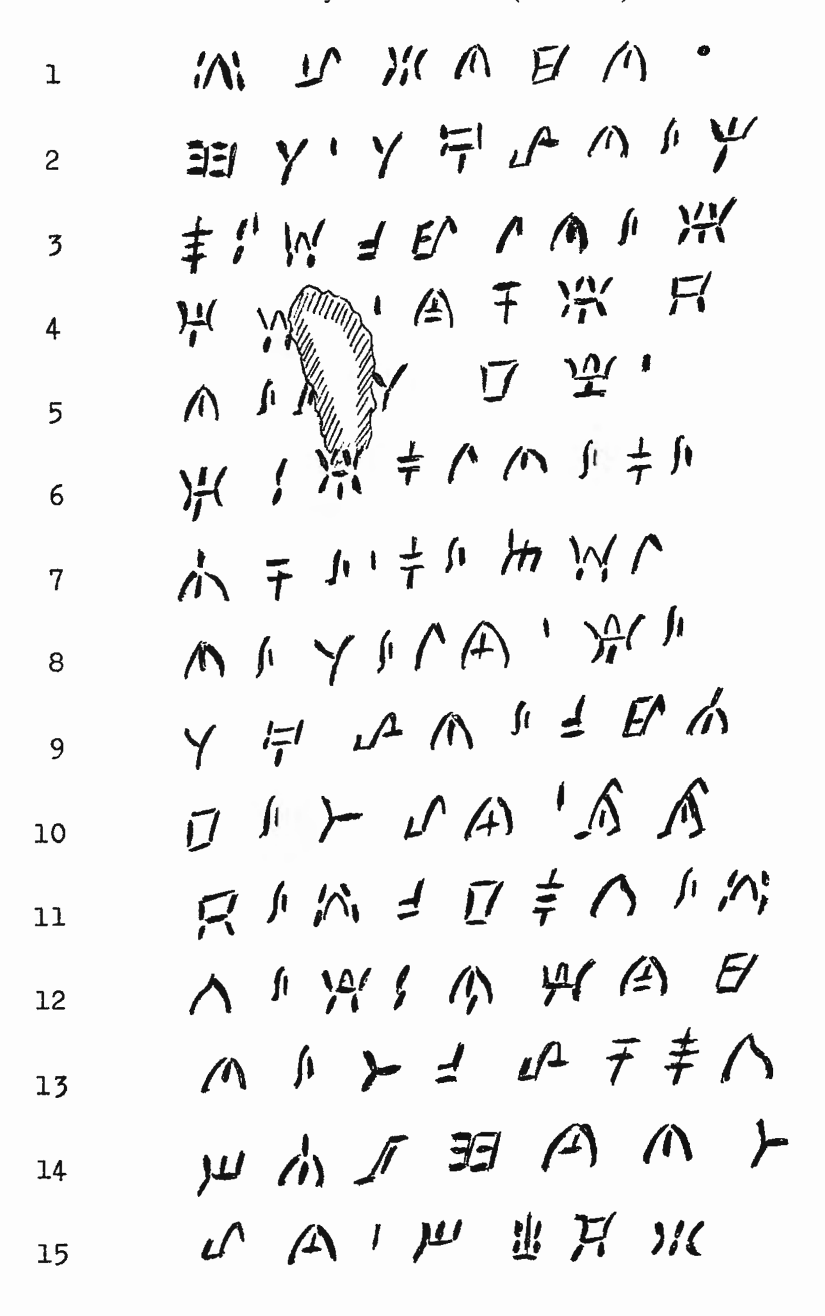
Grâce aux confirmations que n'ont cessé d'apporter aussi bien les textes nouvellement découverts que l'étude des *scripta-minora* dont nous n'avions pas intialement tenu compte en établissant notre grille, nous pouvons aujourd'hui donner, avec plus d'assurance qu'en 1977, une transcription complète du texte (voir Annexe I ci-jointe).

La traduction de ce texte a été permise grâce au caractère sémitique de la langue, une sorte de vieil akkadien présentant des particularités importantes qu'il y a tout lieu de considérer comme des archaïsmes:

[4] ou L_{376} avec valeur du démonstratif hittite *ka-*?

FIGURE 3

Grand cylindre d'Enkomi (fac-similé)



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— absence de prépositions, remplacées par des particules dont la plus importante est la particule marquant le cas indirect *-ti* (sans doute la même que celle que l'on trouve dans les désinences gén./acc. des pronoms personnels: akk. *yâti*, *kâti*, *šuāti*, etc.);

— particule en *w/b* (se rattachant peut-être à la désinence *-wum* de *yawum*, *kuwatum*, *šuwatum*) marquant le possessif;

— vocabulaire marqué par l'influence d'un substrat "méditerranéen" remontant au Paléolithique comme le montre le simple exemple de l'existence dans le texte d'un verbe *sar-*: "régner", "ordonner". La racine est évidemment la même que celle du sémito-anatolien *šarru(m)*: "roi". Comme **wed-*: "eau", **sar-* fait partie de ces racines "méditerranéennes", *communes à divers groupes linguistiques* sans qu'on puisse parler d'"emprunt" de l'un à l'autre. Le radical *šar-*: "au dessus" en hittite/louvite (cf. hitt. *šarlai-* "élever", *šarazzi*: "supérieur", etc.) a une bonne étymologie indo-européenne. Mais *šarru*: "roi" est un terme bien attesté déjà en vieil akkadien. D'autre part le verbe *sar-* au sens d'"exiger" est connu en hourrite (Speiser [1941:193]). Mais le nom propre *šarruma*, l'un des principaux dieux hourrites, pourrait aussi bien être considéré comme une forme sémitique avec l'enclitique *-ma* (commun à l'akkadien et au hourrite) qui marque la coordination ou l'emphase en akkadien! Et on relèvera au passage le parallélisme entre ce suffixe akkado-hourrite et la particule *me* du lycien proto-indoeuropéen (cf. Faucounau [1982:170]), entre mimation sémitique et "accusatif" lycien (*ibid.*). En fait, nous sommes ici à la jonction entre sémitique, hourrite et proto-IE, et on ne peut que constater des parallélismes qui remontent à une époque où ces groupes n'étaient peut-être pas encore véritablement différenciés. Aussi bien pour *šarru* que pour *ziti*, nous dirons que l'on a affaire à du "paléo-sémito-anatolien". C'est à la survivance du "paléo-sémito-anatolien" en hébreu que nous devons, à notre avis, ce que J. Lewy, dans un article remarquable, a appelé des "influences hourrites" (Lewy 1938): Ṣidōn/ Ṣidānu est "la ville du Cid, du Ziti, du 'seigneur'"; on retrouve dans le nom Jourdain: *Yardanu* l'élément qui a fourni le mot *Danube*, etc.

Avant d'analyser plus en détail le texte du cylindre, nous tenterons de déterminer l'origine et la date de ce document.

Un premier renseignement est fourni par le nom et les titres du roi auteur du monument, *Šarru-ziti*, fils de *Yakubi*, du pays du *K/Ḫana*. Comme nous l'avons mentionné ci-dessus, le nom propre *Šarru-ziti* est formé de deux composantes "paléo-sémito-anatoliennes". Le cas de *Yakubi/Jacob* est analogue: il y a fort longtemps que les études bibliques

ont montré que l'"Israel historique en Canaan est un peuple forgé d'éléments primitivement hétérogènes" (R. Weill [1938:13]) et que "non seulement *Jacob* est connu en Canaan au Nouvel Empire (à partir de 1500) et à l'époque 'hyksos' (vers 1700), mais encore que *Joseph* et probablement aussi *Jacob*, peuples cananéens, sont enregistrés par les Égyptiens au début du Moyen Empire, autour de l'an 2000. Les noms mêmes de ces patriarches ne sont donc en rien spécifiquement '*israélites*' (*ibid.*:22). Nous ajouterons: "mais sont à l'évidence '*paléo-sémito-anatoliens*'". L'origine de *Šarru-ziti* est donc claire: il s'agit d'un roi cananéen, d'un roi du pays du *K/Ḫana* comme il le dit lui-même, c'est-à-dire de la Syrie du Nord. (Pour l'équivalence: *Ḫana* = *Kinaḫi* = *Ki-na-aḫ-na*, etc. voir en particulier J. Lewy [1938:50/54]).

Quant à la date du cylindre, elle est, à notre avis, fournie par la phrase des ligne 9/11: "*Šarru-ziti* a brûlé le pays des Lukki. *Zuzurum*, fils(?) d'*Eliya*, et son fils(?) ont été blessés". Bien que désignant un roi du pays Lukki, le NP *Zuzurum* nous paraît plus "cappadocien" que louvite. L'important est qu'il n'est probablement pas inconnu: Un *Zuzuli* "Fils de Roi" figure sur un sceau hittite de Ras Shamra (RS 17.371; cf. E. Laroche *Ugaritica* III: 152). Il semble s'agir d'un fils cadet d'*Ini-Teššub*, dont le fils ainé, *Talmi-Teššub* fut le successeur comme roi de Kargamiš. Nous soupçonnons fortement que le nom propre hourrite *Ini-Teššub* a été traduit dans le texte du cylindre en *EL-Iya*. Un dieu *Iya*/*Aya*/*Aa*, correspondant du dieu hourrite *Teššub* paraît bien attesté dans la zône syro-anatolienne qui nous intéresse (cf. en particulier J. Lewy [1938: 58/60]): "Toutes les variantes du nom du dieu national israëlite seraient donc des formes alourdies d'une racine hurrite [pour nous: paléo-sémito-anatolienne] *ya-*" et l'article d'E. Laroche sur le dieu *A-a-s* [pour nous: *A-ya-as*] dans *Syria* [1954: 99/102]). Si cette hypothèse est exacte, il pourrait y avoir identité entre le *Zuzurum* du cylindre et le *Zuzuli* fils d'*Ini-Teššub*. Ceci donnerait pour le cylindre une date aux environs de 1265 puisqu'*Ini-Teššub* est contemporain de *Ḫattušiliš* III (1298-1265) et de *Tudḫaliyaš* IV (1265-1235). Il s'agit d'une période de luttes d'influence en *Arzawa* et en Syrie du Nord: *Ramsès* II vieillissant (il mourra en 1238) a signé quelques années auparavant (1284) le célèbre traité de paix avec *Ḫattušiliš* III, qui représente un désengagement de l'Égypte en Cilicie et Syrie du Nord. La baisse de l'influence égyptienne provoque dans ces pays une série d'intrigues et d'alliances éphémères, dictées par l'intérêt du moment: Le roi hittite *Tudḫaliyaš* IV s'allie à *Šaušgamuwa* d'*Amurru* contre l'Assyrie de *Tukulti-Ninurta*; le roi d'*Arzawa*, *Kupanti-inara*, encourage les pays

dans sa mouvance, dont l'"Achéen" *Attaršiya* à se révolter contre le roi de Kargamiš, *Ini-Teššub*. C'est à la suite de ces démêlés que *Tudḫaliyaš* fut d'ailleurs amené à intervenir à *Alašia* (Chypre), pays allié à l'Égypte au temps d'Amarna (cf. P. Garelli [1969: 193]). Cette époque est aussi celle où les rois de Babylone accroissent leur influence sur les pays de l'Euphrate, influence qui culminera avec l'annexion du *Rapiqu* par *Kaštiliaš* IV (1242-1235). Que se soit formé à cette époque un royaume du *Ḫana* suffisamment puissant pour intervenir à Chypre paraît assez probable. Car lorsqu'il s'agira pour le roi d'Assyrie *Tukulti-Ninurta* de détruire son voisin babylonien, c'est non seulement Babylone qu'il ravagera, mais aussi, en remontant l'Euphrate, le *Rapiqu*, *Mari* et le *Ḫana*, desquels il exigera un tribut (cf. Garelli [1969: 208]). Il est dommage que *Tukulti-Ninurta* n'ait pas mentionné dans sa chronique les noms des rois de ces pays: peut-être aurait-on pu ainsi vérifier directement la datation que nous proposons pour le cylindre (autour de 1265 av. J.C.).

La date ainsi suggérée par le déchiffrement (si tant est que l'équation *Zuzurum* = *Zuzuli* est exacte) est en accord avec les données archéologiques: Cl. Schaeffer, qui découvrit le cylindre, avait daté celui-ci du milieu du XIVe siècle av. J.C., mais cette date est manifestement trop haute: D'une part, même en faisant abstraction du déchiffrement, les caractéristiques du cylindre en font un document d'origine orientale, mésopotamienne: les documents de fondation de ce genre sont surtout connus en Babylonie (cf. E. Sollberger – R. Kupper, *Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes*, p. 28). Or une influence de Babylone sur Chypre suffisante pour justifier la présence dans cette île d'un document de fondation ne peut guère s'être produite avant la fin du XIVe siècle au plus tôt, lorsque *Alašia* cessa d'être un État indépendant traitant sur un pied d'égalité avec l'Égypte. D'autre part, de pures considérations archéologiques ont conduit certains archéologues dont en particulier V. Karageorghis à voir dans le cylindre un monument du XIIIe siècle. La date proposée, que l'on pourrait éventuellement relever d'une dizaine d'années (soit 1275/1265), est en bon accord avec cette dernière datation.

Les autres Noms Propres mentionnés sur le cylindre n'apportent que des renseignements de moindre valeur:

1) — Le titre de *Si-na-ḫe-rum* dans lequel intervient le nom du dieu *Sin* confirme l'influence de Babylone sur le *Ḫana* à cette époque.

2) — L'inscription porte trois noms lisibles de pays ennemis du *Ḫana*: le pays des *Likki*, le *K/Ḫatti* ou pays des Nésites (*Nesiya*), et le *Siniya*.

Pour le premier et le dernier cités, il est intéressant de noter que les rois correspondants portent des noms plutôt "cappadociens" ou hourrites qu'hittito-louvites: *Zuzurum* fils d'*Eliya*; *Zasiya* fils de *Talizina* en ce qui concerne le pays *Likki*; *W/Paza* fils de *Mukona* en ce qui concerne le pays *Siniya*. Comme c'est le plus souvent le cas dans les textes assyriens, le mot *K/Ḫatti* recouvre donc essentiellement les pays du Sud anatolien ou de Syrie du Nord contrôlés par les Hittites, mais dont la population était restée fondamentalement sémito-hourrite (au point qu'en 1350 le fils de *Šuppiluliuma*, *Piyaššiliš*, jugea utile de changer son nom en le nom hourrite de *Šarri-Kuššuḫ* (P. Garelli [1969: 173]) lorsqu'il devint roi de *Kargamiš*). Il en est vraisemblablement de même pour le terme *Likki* qui doit correspondre seulement à la Cilicie côtière, contrôlée probablement à cette époque par les *Lukki/Lukka/ Lyciens*.

Le pays *Siniya* est vraisemblablement le même que le *Siyannu* attesté à Ugarit, lequel a été identifié avec le pays *Sini* de l'Ancien Testament. Les textes de Mari citent aussi un pays *Sinaḫ*, probablement identique aux précédents, qui paraît situé en Haute Mésopotamie.

Quant au *K/Ḫa-a-ru-na* de la ligne 19, il pourrait s'agir de la ville d'*Ḫarran* dont les habitants sont désignés à *Mari*: les *Ḫa-ar-ra-nim*.

3) — Enfin le roi vassal de *Šarru-ziti* porte un nom akkadien: *Bêti-mâru* fils de *Ḫana*, avec les deux composantes: *bêt-/bît-*: "maison" et *mâru*: "fils". Quelques noms de ce genre sont connus à Ugarit (cf. F. Grondahl, *op. cit.*: 118: *Bêti-Ilim*, *Bît-Aya*, etc.).

Voici la traduction du texte que nous proposons:

Lignes 1 à 5:

> "À mes dieux".
> "Cela, (moi) *Šarru-ziti* j'ai ordonné [de bâtir?/d'écrire?]
> pour mon Père, pour mon roi, pour le Fils d'Éa,
> pour le 'Sinaḫerum'".

Pour le détail de cette traduction, voir Faucounau (1988). On notera au passage le hourrisme que constitue le possessif 1ère Pers. en *-wo* (cf. à Mari: *e-ni-wu-ús*: "par mon dieu". Speiser [1941: 103]).

Lignes 6 à 8:

> "Ont été capturés le prince de *Paphos*(?), le prince du *Kuna*, le roi du pays *Tumbu*, le KE* de *Poka*".

Ce passage est obscurci par les abbréviations utilisées par le scribe:
— PA* est probablement le même idéogramme que l'on trouve dans les textes en hittite cunéiforme et qui correspond à akk. *aklu*: "chef, commandant d'une armée, prince". À lire peut-être: *baʿal*?
— SA* est sans doute l'abbréviation de *šarru*: "roi".
— KE* est obscur. Le nom de la ville ou du pays qui lui correspond est *po-ka* et il est difficile de ne pas penser à grec Φώκαια, éol. Φωκάα. Peut-être avons-nous ici le premier témoignage écrit de l'établissement d'une colonie grecque à Chypre?

Le passage semble en effet concerner des princes locaux qui semblent avoir été capturés à Chypre même: *Pa-po-* est à peu près sûrement la ville de *Paphos*; *Kuna* est un nom cappadocien (qui pourrait avoir été transféré à Chypre) que l'on rencontre sous des formes adjectivales diverses (cf. Laroche [1966: 98]). Qu'il s'agisse d'un nom de ville ou de pays est assuré par le composé "kizzuwatnien" *Kuniya-ziti*, parallèle à *Ḫalpa-ziti Zarniya-ziti*, etc. Enfin *tu-ma-po-* semble correspondre au hourrite *tumb-/tubb-* (cf. Tubal). L'ethnique *Tubiya* d'Ugarit atteste qu'un pays *Tubbi-/Tubba-* a existé, dont le correspondant chypriote serait *Tumabum.*

On relèvera au passage que le premier mot de la phrase *a-be-ke* correspond à l'akk. *abku*:"captif".

Lignes 9 à 14:

> "*Šarru-ziti* a brûlé le pays des *Likki.*
> *Zuzurum* fils d'*Eliya*, et son fils, ont été blessés.
> *Zasiyatti*, fils de *Talizina*, a été humilié".

Les mots-clefs de ce passage sont: *da-la-ka*: "brûler" (cf. akk. *dalāqu*: "brûler"), *se-ku-re-su* dont le radical correspond à akk. *ṣeḫēru* "être petit" et surtout *e-k/ḫum*, presque certainement "fils". La différence de sens avec l'akk. *aḫum*: "frère" s'explique en supposant qu'il s'agit d'un terme "paléo-sémito-anatolien" signifiant "né, issu de la mère": on rejoint ainsi le proto-indoeuropéen: **e-gʰ-*: "issu de" (cf. lat. *ex*, grec ἐγ-/ἐξ: "hors de", etc.).

Pour les noms propres, voir ci-dessus.

Lignes 14 à 19:

> "J'ai brûlé le pays *Ḫatti.*
> Brisés sont mes ennemis Nésites.
> J'ai brûlé le pays du *Sini.*
> *W/Paza*, le fils de *Mukonna* s'est enfui comme un diable(?) vers *K/Ḫaaruna*".

Les mots-clefs de ce passage sont, outre *da-la-ka* déjà vu, *se-pu-rum* correspondant à akk. *šebēru*: "brisé"; *le-ma-be* correspondant d'akk. *lemnum*(?): "diable"; *a-ne* correspondant à la préposition akk. *ana*:"vers".

Lignes 19 à 22:

Ces deux lignes sont particulièrement obscures à cause de la valeur inconnue du signe S_{206} et de l'omission d'un séparateur de mot à la fin de la ligne 21: a-t-on affaire à un verbe *tu-ka-da-ti* avec un sujet ou un complément *si-lum*, ou à un seul mot composé? Seul le NP: *Surum* fils de *Retiya*, sujet du verbe *206-ko-ro-ti*, est compréhensible. Le premier nom propre se rattache à la famille de *Suraya*, *Surate*, etc. attestée à Ugarit. S'il faut y voir une déformation du nom propre *Aššur* bien connu, le second nom propre pourrait correspondre à **Arad-Aya*, avec la même disparition de la voyelle initiale? Si le rapprochement que nous proposons ci-dessous entre hourr. *teli* et akk. *adala*: "vrai, juste" est valable, il pourrait s'agir là encore d'un "hourrisme".

Lignes 22 à 25:

> "Le pays des Adanouviens (?) a été brûlé.
> Les a brisés mon allié *Bêti-mâru* fils de *Ḫana*".

Il est tentant de voir dans les *Ḫa-da-nu-[wum]* les Adanouviens: l'écriture *ḫa* pour *a* se rencontre parfois dans les textes en cunéiforme, en particulier pour le nom du dieu *Haddad/Addad* de la Syrie du Nord[5]. Le pays en question (la région d'*Adana*?) semble se trouver trop loin du *Ḫana* pour que *Šarru-ziti* puisse y intervenir directement. C'est son allié (*ka-da-nu-te*: cf akk. *gadu* + *nâti*: "together with us") *Bêti-mâru* qui s'en charge.

Lignes 25 à 27:

> "*Sarru-ziti*, fils de *Yakubi*, du pays du *Ḫana* a ordonné (d'écrire cela) exactement.
> Il l'a ordonné".

Notre traduction se fonde sur un rapprochement entre le "hourrisme" *te-lum* (hourr. *teli/tili*) et l'akk. *adala*: "être juste". Si ce rapprochement était exact, il en résulterait que les Noms Propres du type: *Tili-Teššub* ou *Tili-Šarruma* auraient le sens de: "Dieu véritable est Teššub (ou Šarruma)".

[5] Une autre explication consisterait à admettre une erreur du scribe provoquée par la proximité de **A-da-nu-wum* et de *ka-da-nu-te*.

ANNEXE

Transcription du texte du cylindre d'Enkomi

Notations:
’ : barre de séparation indiquée par le scribe
<’> : passage rétablie par nous
* : déterminatif des noms propres
<*> : déterminatif rétabli par nous

1) e-la-ne-ti-ya-ti °
2) su-sa ‘ sa-ru-zi-ti * a-
3) te-be ‘ ma-li-ki-wo-ti * ke-
4) a-ma- [ro] ‘ si-na-ke-ro-
5) ti * [x-x’] sa-ri-nu ‘ [vacat]
6) a-be-ke <’> pa-po-ti * pa *
7) ku-na *’ pa * tu-ma-po-
8) ti * sa * po-ka ’ ke *
9) sa-ru-zi-ti * li-ki-ku-
10) ri * ta-la-ka ’ zu-zu-
11) rum * e-li-ya-te-kum * e-
12) kum * za-be-le <’> za-si-ya-
13) ti * ta-li-zi-na-te-kum <’>
14) se-ku-re-su <’> ka-ti <*> ta-
15) la-ka ’ se-pu-rum <’> ni-
16) ka-ri <’> ne-si-ya <*> si-ne-
17) ya <*> ta-la-ka <’> mu-ko-na- [te]
18) kum <*> pa-za <*> le-ma-be <’> a-ne <’>
19) ka-a-ro-na ’ 206-ko-
20) ro-ti * su-rum * re-ti-
21) ya-te-kum * tu-ka-da-ti <’>
22) si-lum <’> ka-sa-nu- [wo ?] -ti <*>
23) ta-la-ka ’ se-pu- [ro] -ti <’>
24) ka-da-nu-te ’ be-te-ma-ru <*>
25) ka-ne-ya <*> sa-ri-nu ’ te-lum <’>
26) sa-ru-zi-ti <*> ya-ku-pi-
27) ya <*> ka-ne-ya <*> sa-ri-nu <’>

Commentaires épigraphiques:

Ligne 2: le dernier signe est S_{102} (et non S_{104} comme le lit E. Masson): la barre inférieure, au milieu, qui rejoint l’“accent circonflexe” du signe

S_{110} de la ligne 3, a été décalée vers la gauche comme c'est le cas à la ligne 6 où ce trait se confond presque avec la haste verticale gauche.

Ligne 5: le deuxième signe, à demi-effacé, est peut-être S_{18}.

Ligne 6: 3[e] signe: le signe S_{23} = *ti* lu par É. Masson est impossible car le scribe du cylindre trace toujours le trait central assez court. Il faut lire S_{110}.

Ligne 16: avant-dernier signe: la photo montre clairement qu'il s'agit de S_{27} et non de S_{25}.

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* On trouvera dans *Archaeologia Cypria* 3 (1994) 93-106 de plus amples détails sur le déchiffrement des écritures chyprominoennes.

FIGURE 4

The C.M. 1 b Grid
(Schaeffer's Cylinder)

	a	e	i	o/um	u
	102	38	104		
p/b/w	6	207	50	12	37
d/t	4	7	23		47
k/ḫ	25	110a	70	21	26
s/š	82	44	27		
y	69				
l	87	24	9	5	
m	53				39
n	8	103b	206		100
z	110b		88		41c
r		18	75	97	96

FATHER'S SONS AND MOTHER'S DAUGHTERS: THE PROBLEM OF INDO-EUROPEAN/SEMITIC RELATIONSHIPS

Cyrus H. GORDON

0. Charles W. Carter was a dedicated Hittitologist who stuck to his chosen field through thick and thin.Trained well in his specialty at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, his dissertation won the praise of noted experts such as O. R. Gurney[1].

I met him at a number of American Oriental Society meetings over the years and admired his faithfulness to his métier, despite all obstacles. Far from a position at some Hittitological center like Chicago or New Haven, Carter spent his teaching career in the Department of History at the University of North Dakota in Grand Forks. It is true that modern transportation, long-distance telephone service and inter-library loans have minimized the disadvantages of geographical isolation. But it was impossible to teach, let alone build up a center of, Hittite Studies, in Grand Forks.

There are scholars who "do their own thing" without fulfilling the function of their positions. Carter was not such a man. He was a beacon of light on his campus. He maintained the highest academic standards teaching the history survey courses that were expected of him. He was highly respected, and somewhat feared, by the students. Those whom I have met consider him the inspiring font of humanistic learning during their formative period.

To fulfill one's duties with distinction, while remaining uncompromisingly true to one's esoteric field of reseach, is no mean achievement. It is an honor to dedicate this article to Charles Carter's memory.

1. On 13 March 1989 at a session of the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in New Orleans, Calvert Watkins (Harvard) concurred with Harry Hoffner (Chicago) in interpreting the following pair of Hittite expressions: *atta-nekneš* "brothers (sired by one) father" and *anna-nekeš* "sisters (borne by one) mother"[2]. It remains to be pointed

[1] O.R. GURNEY, *Some Aspects of Hittite Religion*, 1977, Oxford, p. 54.

[2] Note to Semiticist readers unfamiliar with Hittite: the standard transliteration does not employ +voice/-voice graphemes (e.g. *g*/*k*) to indicate phonological +voice/-voice, e.g. /g/k/. Nor does the standard sign *š* indicate /ʃ/, but most likely rather /s/. These are

out that this parallel pair of expressions reflects an institution whereby a husband and wife blessed with children of both sexes could form a duplex family divided into a male sub-family and a female sub-family. In Hebrew there is a terminology reflecting such an institution; to wit, בית־אב (*bê[y]t-'āḇ*)[3] "house of a father" and בית־אם (*bê[y]t-'ēm*)[4] "house of a mother". In each of these divisions of a family, there could be a hierarchy of children, paralleling each other. Please note that I say "could be" and not "was". There were alternative life styles and I have tried, throughout this article, not to give the false impression of monolithic institutions.

A complete family consisted of a father with a number of sons, of which one (usually, but not necessarily, the first born[5]) was the fratriarch with the largest inheritance, plus leadership over his siblings. After him came the vice-fratriarch[6], then the third in line, and so forth with the fourth, fifth, etc. The father had one or more wives, each of whom could head a sub-family of daughters, which constituted a parallel hierarchy normally (but not necessarily) with the eldest as sororarch followed by the others in sequence down to the youngest. However, the father, a partriarch, could elevate a younger child (male or female) over his or her seniors. In the case of polygyny, one wife outranked the others so that the partriarch's successor had to be chosen from her brood. In that case the patriarch could select, or approve of, the one to succeed him. This veto power was limited; he was not free to make a son of any of his other wives his successor.This system was of special importance at the

concerns of graphophonemics, not of our present subject. For Hittitological readers, not conversant with Hebrew, transliterations are supplied that are primarily a combination of the Hebrew consonantal text with the Masoretic vocalization by sublinear (for the most part) vocalic signs.

[3] This term can refer not only to the house of any individual's father, but can just as well designate the extended family in a patriarchal system. Note למשפחתיו על־בית אבתיו (*ləmišpəḥôṯa[y]w 'al-bê[y]ṯ 'aḇôṯa[y]w*) (Nu 2:34) "accordinng to his clans by his patriarchal households"; note that the plural of the technical בית־אב (*bê[y]ṯ 'aḇ*) is בית־אבות (*bê[y]ṯ 'aḇôṯ*) with the second element of the construct state (= "compound") pluralized (normal usage calls for pluralizing only the first element in such a compound, e.g. as in בני־ישׂראל (*bənêy-yiśrā'ēl*) "the children of Israel".

[4] Examples with the possessive suffix "her" occur in Gen 24:28 and Ruth 1:8, mentioned below.

[5] The distinction between בכור (*bəḵôr*) "first-born" and ראש (*rô['] š*) "fratriarch" is clearly brought out terminologically in I Chron (see especially 26:10). See in detail C.H. GORDON, "Fratriarchy in the Old Testament", *JBL* 54 (1935), 223-231, particularly p. 228 and Ktziah SPANIER, *Aspects of Fratriarchy in the Old Testament* (Ph.D. dissertation at New York University [University Microfilms, Ann Arbor]).

[6] The classical designation is משנהו (*mišnê[y]hû*) "his second[-in-command]" (with reference to the fratriarch).

royal level, where only one woman in the royal harem was contractually entitled to bear the crown prince[7].

A clear case of the institution of the parallel households of (1) the father with his sons, and (2) the mother with her daughters, is provided by the Epic of Kret unearthed at Ugarit, a satellite of the Hittite Empire from the 15th century down to the destruction of Hattusas and Ugarit around 1185 B.C.E. The hero, King Kret, won a divine covenantal promise that his dynasty would endure through the progeny to be borne to him by his destined bride Ḥry[8]. The promise, which was fulfilled, included *bn krt* "the sons of Kret" and *bnt ḥry* "the daughters of Ḥry"[9]. It would not have been "worthy of saga" if the eldest son, Yṣb, proved to be deserving, and succeeded his father to the throne. Instead, the eldest proved to be undeserving, while a younger son, Ilḥu, emerged as worthy[10]. As for the girls, it was not the eldest, but Ṯmny "Octavia", the eighth and youngest daughter, who was elevated to the rank of sororarch[11].

When Rebecca met Eliezer, her father (Bethuel) and her **fratriarchal brother** (Laban) were alive and present, but she ran to bring the news to "the house of her mother"[12] and not to the men's abode. When Naomi advised her widowed daughters-in-law, Ruth and Orphah, not to accompany her to Judea, but to remain with their own people in Moab, she urged them to return, each to the house of her mother[13]. Daughters could thus belong to their mothers' houses, not only before marriage, but even after being bereft of their husbands.

The dichotomy of "father's sons" and "mother's daughters" is not limited to the **Ancient** Near East. I have come across examples of this among Shiites in Iraq and Iran. (1) My student, the late Dr. Izzu-d Din al-Yasin (an Iraqi) divorced his wife (an Iranian) who had borne him four sons but

[7] At Ugarit, the wife contractually entitled to bear the crown prince is called the *rabîtu*; cf. C.H. GORDON, "Ugaritic *rbt/rabîtu*", in L. ESLINGER and G. TAYLOR (edd.), *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical and Other Essays in Memory of Peter C. Craigie* (= *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series 67), 1988, 127-132.

[8] For my annotated translation of the Kret Epic, see *Berytus* 25 (1977), 34-59, with constant reference to the Ugaritic source in *UT*.

[9] For the *bn krt* and *bnt ḥry*, see *UT* 128: III, 23-24.

[10] Yṣb tried to usurp his sick father's kingship, while the devoted Ilḥu was distressed by Kret's suffering.

[11] For the series of Kret's daughters to be borne by Ḥry, see *UT* 128: III: 7-12 and *Berytus* 25 (1977), 48. For the statement that the youngest of the girls is to be elevated to the position of sororarch, cf. *UT* 128: III: 16 *sǵrthn abkrn* "I shall make the youngest (f.) of them (f.) the first-born (= sororarch)", where the verb is a denominative to the cognate of the Hebrew noun cited in n. 5 above.

[12] Gen 24:28.

[13] Ruth 1:8.

no daughters. There was no question of child-custody. He kept all four sons in his Baghdad home, while she was sent back to her family in Iran with none of the children. (2) The first marriage of General Jahanbani (of Iran) was a *siğeh* (or *mutʿa*) or "temporary marriage" contracted for him by his mother and sister for the duration of his summer vacation while he was a cadet at the Russian Military Academy. The brief union produced a daughter, who automatically remained in the custody of her mother. (All of the parties involved in both of these marriages were Shiites).

The closest form of siblingship is that of children sharing the same father and mother[14]. Half-brothers and half-sisters were sometimes permitted to marry each other if they were agnatic, but not uterine (i.e., sharing the same father, but of different mother)[15].

The assignment of the boys to the father's house and of the daughters to the mother's house is, as noted above, attested to in "Hattu", i.e., in Hittite Anatolia and among the adjacent Northwest Semites. I have not come across it among the Arabs[16]. An Islamic household is traditionally divided into the men's quarters for the adult male members of the household and the *ḥarîm*, for the women and the children of both sexes[17]. A socially and economically solid Muslim who has more than one wife should provide each of them with separate quarters (tent, room apartment or house as modus vivendi and material means prescribe). But the boys remain in the *ḥarîm* only through their pre-adolescent years, whereupon they are classified as "men".

Whether the division between "father's sons" and "mother's daughters" moved from the Northwest Semites to the Hittites is still an open question. Unless and until it is found in Indo-European society outside the Hittite sphere, we should not insist that it is of Indo-European origin[18]. However, there are other elements in Northwest Semitic society that are definitely of Indo-European derivation.

[14] Thus Kret's full brothers are called "brothers–sons of a (= one) mother". See *UT* Krt: (8) *dšbʿ* (9) *[a]ḫm. lh. ṯmnt. bn. um* "he who had seven brothers; (altogether) eight sons of one mother".

[15] For the Patriarchal Age, note Gen 20:12; for the Age of the United Monarchy, see II Sam 13:13.

[16] [Editor's note: as normative or fundamental. The two examples just cited amongst Shiites of Iraqi and Iranian nationality may have their source in Iranian (Indo-European) tradition. YLA].

[17] In Iran, the Farsi terminology is: *andirûn* "women's quarterns" and *berûn* "men's quarters".

[18] [Editor's note: And, of course, there are, non-N.W. Semitic, sub- and adstratic influences which were pervasive on Hittite (and other Anatolian) society, religion, and language. YLA].

2. Levirite marriage is widespread among the Indo-Europeans (Indics, Greeks, Romans, and Hittites). So far it has not been detected in the Ancient Near East prior to the Indo-European impact.Thus it does not occur in the Sumerian or Old Babylonian law codes[19]. After the advent of the Indo-Hittites[20], it appears in the Assyrian as well as Hittite Laws[21], in cuneiform tablets such as those from Nuzi[22] and Ugarit[23], and in the Hebrew Bible ("Old Testament").

In the latter it occurs in three divergent forms:

(1) In Deut 25:5-10 it is formulated as a law to the effect that, if a married man (provided that he is living in a fratriarchal enclave) dies childless, his brother should marry the widow, and their first child is to be reckoned as the son of the deceased so that no name shall be obliterated from Israel.

[19] Hammurapi's Code was promulgated after the early Indo-European presence in the Near East. However, the Code is conservative. Thus while the horse and camel were already known, they do not appear in the Code's repertoire of animals (kine, sheep, goats, pigs, and asses).

[20] I use this term to highlight the Hittite factor. I do not imply the existence of a hypothetical Proto-Indo-Hittite, as was the fashion in certain circles back in the 1920s and 1930s, but also continuing with some scholars much later. For a most recent and sound discussion, see J. TISCHLER, "Relative Chronology: The Case of Proto-Indo-European", in Y.L. ARBEITMAN (ed.), *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz*, 1988, Louvain-la-Neuve, pp. 559-574.

[21] Hittite Laws: tablet II, no. 193; Middle Assyrian Laws: tablet A, no. 33.

[22] C.H. GORDON, "The Status of Woman Reflected in the Nuzi Tablets", *ZA*, N.F. 9 (43) (1936), 163 and *passim* in numerous recent studies.

[23] By means of a curse invoking Baal, Arḫalbu, King of Ugarit, to assure a legitimate succession, would prevent anyone except his brother from marrying his widow, Kubaba. The tablet (*RS* 16. 144; *PRU* III, p. 76) was written while Arḫalbu was alive, but before a crown prince was borne by his wife who was contractually entitled to bear the next king.

obv.)	*iš-tu ûmi* $^{\text{I-KAM}}$ *a-ni-im*	On this day
:2	^{m}*ar(i)-ḫal-bu šar* ^{âl}*u-ga-ri-it*	Arḫalbu, King of Ugarit
:3)	*a-kán-na iq-ta-bi*	declares thus:
:4)	*šum-ma ú-ra še-ra*	"If in the future
:5)	*a-na-ku* (BA-BAT^{MEŠ}) *mi-ta-ku*	I die
:6)	*ú ša* ^{f}*ku-ba-ba mârat ták-a-an*	and anyone takes Kubaba,
:7)	*aššati-ia iš-tu aḫi-ia*	daughter of Takan, my wife
:8)	*ša i-ḫu-uz-ši*	from my brother,
:9)	^{d}IM *li-ra-ḫi-iṣ-šu*	May Baal drown him!
:10)	^{iṣ}*kussâ la ú-ra-bi*	May he not enhance the throne!
:11)	É^{ḫá} *la i-ši-ib*	May he not inhabit the palace!
:12)	^{d}IM *bêl ḫuršân ḫa-zi*	May Baal, the Lord of Mount Cassius,
:13)	*li-ra-ḫi-iṣ-šu*	drown him!"

[Editor's note: Prof. Gordon employs non-syllabically transliterated whole Akkadian words where there is a Sumerogram determinative in the text; note esp. ^{iṣ}*kussâ* for what is most often transliterated as ^{GIŠ}GU.ZA; the other differences are self-evident. YLA].

(2) The Scroll of Ruth is a case set in the Period of the Judges. Ruth marries her deceased husband's closest available kinsman who is willing and able to redeem the estate of the deceased. The firstborn son of the union perpetuates the name and line of the deceased on the latter's estate (4:5).

(3) The remaining case (in Gen 38) is set still earlier, in the Patriarchal Age. Judah is living among members of the local population. His wife bears him three sons. Judah marries off the eldest, named Er, to a local girl named Tamar. But Er dies childless, so that Tamar, in accordance with the custom of Levirate marriage, automatically[24] becomes the wife of Er's brother, Onan. The latter, unwilling to provide a surrogate son and heir for his dead brother, practices *coitus interruptus*[25]. For this selfishness (it causes the obliteration of the deceased brother's name and line from Israel), God is said to have terminated Onan's life (verse 10). Judah's third son, Shelah, was still a minor and so Judah sent Tamar back to her father's house, ostensibly to wait until the boy became mature enough to marry, but actually because he feared she would bring him bad luck, causing the death of the third son too (verse 11). Time went by, Shelah grew up, but Judah continued to withhold him from performing his Levirate duty with Tamar. Tamar was not deceived by Judah's tactics and decided to assure her right to become the mother of the next head of Judah's family, by guile. Judah's wife had recently died and after the customary period of mourning, he attended a sheep-shearing celebration where wine and other pleasures were the rule. Tamar disguised herself as a prostitute and attracted Judah's attention by waiting alongside the road she knew he would take. Her ruse worked and they agreed on the price: a kid. As a surety for the payment, Judah left with Tamar three personal articles: his seal, cord[26], and staff. Judah unwittingly impregnated Tamar during their one encounter. Soon after he wanted to pay her the stipulated fee for her services by dispatching a friend of his to convey the kid to the harlot. But no harlot could be found in the vicin-

[24] Levirate marriage is not considered a new marriage. It is simply an automatic continuation of the original marriage with the יבם *(yāḇām)* "levir" taking his dead brother's place to produce the latter's heir.

[25] The reason for being unwilling to produce a son for the dead brother is that Onan, who would otherwise become the fratriarch and chief heir, would lose that position, with all of its prerogatives, to the son of the dead Er.

[26] This "cord" might possibly be the chain for suspending the seal. However, I am more inclined to compare it with the Akkadian *sissiktu* "fringe" impressed like a seal or fingernail on clay tablets, as we affix our signature to validate a document.

ity and Judah became apprehensive because his seal, cord, and staff would reveal his identity. It was not long before news of Tamar's pregnancy reached Judah's ears and he was outraged that his daughter-in-law had conceived through whoring. He demanded that she be expelled from her father's house to be burned to death[27]. She then revealed that the father of the foetus was the owner of the three personal articles left as surety. Judah thereupon realized and confessed his guilt, saying: צדקה ממני (*sādəqāʰ mimmennî*) "she is in the right; not I" (verse 26). She was entitled to be the mother of the future head of the family, whereas Judah had tried to withhold that right from her. That he was her father-in-law would not exclude him from serving in place of the levir according to the Hittite Code[28]. Accordingly, Gen 38 provides a link with the Indo-European Hittites. The other Indo-European ties are provided by India, where *satī* ("suttee"), as well as *niyoga* ("Levirite mariage"), is honorable for widows.

In the other biblical examples of Levirate marriage, as well as in all of the post-biblical Jewish sources, the widow and the levir go on living together as man and wife. It is only in Gen 38:26 that the "levir" (Judah), having impregnated the widow, never touches her again, exactly as in India, where the union lasts only until the impregnation which fulfills the purpose of *niyoga*[29]: to provide an heir for the dead.

The interpenetration of the Indo-Hittite and the Semitic spheres is complex and extended over many periods and via several channels of transmission by land and by sea[30]. Though the subject is still in its infancy, it is a foregone conclusion that its investigation will contribute significantly to our understanding of the Indo-Europeans and the Ancient Near Easterners of other ethnic and linguistic descent as we

[27] This can only mean that her father's household accepted the demand as justified.

[28] Tablet II, no. 193.

[29] It was my student, Claire GOTTLIEB, who called my attention to this peculiarity of *niyoga*. [Editor's note: The *OED* (1933) *s.v.* notes: "**levirate** 1883 MAINE *Early Law & Cust.* iv. 100 An Institution.. known commonly as the Levirate, but called by the Hindus, in its more general form, the Niyoga". YLA].

[30] The connections begin in prehistoric times. In the Achaemenian Age (6th to 4th centuries B.C.E.), the Persian Empire extended at its height "from India to Ethiopia" (Est 1:1), with excellent roads and fast courier service (a sort of "pony express"). The Elamite language is demonstrably connected with Tamil (and the Dravidian family), as shown by D.W. MCALPIN, "Toward Proto-Elamo-Dravidian", *Language* 50 (1974), 89-101 and numerous following works. So we must regard the Elamites as a channel of transmission between India and the Ancient Near East. Note also C.H. GORDON, "Indo-European and Indic Epic", *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958), 10-15.

come across them since the earliest known written sources (and in reconstructing even earlier periods)[31].

[31] [Editor's note: The pericope of Tamar and Judah, with regard to Prof. Gordon's "Hittite Connection" is viewed in another perspective by Y. L. ARBEITMAN "Tamar's Name or Is It? (Gen 38)", *ZAW* 112/3 (2000).]. [Editor's note in proofs: On the Hittite terms discussed at this article's beginning, cf. now text and translation by C. WATKINS (1994), *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*, Oxford. The terms used in this text are, however, *pappa*(-)ŠEŠ^{meš} and *annanake*[*š*], resp. "brothers by the same father" and "sisters by the same mother".]

ARMENIAN AND THE KARTVELIAN LANGUAGES

John A. C. GREPPIN

The Armenians, having a culture that is recorded no sooner than the late sixth century B.C.[1], surely have a more ancient history in Anatolia, one that awaits only revelation through archaeological advances. That the connections have not yet been made does not reflect any particular lethargy on the part of archaeologists, but rather an inability to relate our abundant eastern Anatolian finds to the Armenian nation. Yet we can be confident that there was early contact between the Hurro-Urartian people and the pre-literate Armenians who inhabited the land to their west, and contact as well between the Hurro-Urartian cultures and the Caucasian people(s)[2]. Certainly the Urartian state as recently as 900 B.C. was waging wars of imperialism against the small nations of the Southern Caucusus; similarly, the archaeological evidence of the Early-Trans-Caucasian Culture (3400-2000 B.C.) suggests that this southeast Caucasian area was the homeland of the Hurrian culture, whence they came to Mesopotamia and eventually to eastern Anatolia (Burney and Land [1971: 44,48-51]; Burney [1978:132]). From this it appears that the Hurrians and Urartians provided a cultural bridge between the Caucasian people(s) and the pre-literate Armenians.

This linguistic bridge was eventually to disappear, displaced in large part by Persian might, and ultimately by direct Armenian presence. With the exception of the period of Arabic influence over Armenia during the Caliphate (7th-9th centuries A.D.), this Persian power extended from the time of Darius the Great until the early 19th century, when the Russian Empire took over the control of Caucasian Armenia and, increasingly under the Soviet period, sealed it away from intrusion, whether cultural or military, from the south. Yet in this century some have argued that we have evidence for the influence of the Armenian language on the Northeastern Caucasian languages (Vinogradova [1979]); this evidence, if

[1] They are noted in the inscription of Darius the Great and in the historical fragments of Hecataeus of Meletus and Eudoxus of Cnidus, for which see GREPPIN (1991a).

[2] For a discussion of the lexical remainders of ancient Mesopotamian and Anatolian cultures within the living languages of Iran, Turkey and Armenia, see GREPPIN (1991a); for the rapport between Armenian and Hurro-Urartian, see DIAKONOFF (1985) and GREPPIN (1991b).

substantial, would demonstrate a new arrival of Armenian influence on the Northeast Caucasus, or Daghestan[3].

There are three language systems that generally come under the name of "Caucasian languages". The most profound is the Kartvelian family, in the south. In the Northwest we find a family composed of such languages as Abkhaz and the Circassian dialects; in the Northeast there are two principal systems, the Nakh group, and the Daghestani group. We will treat each family, and its relationship to Armenian, separately[4].

The Kartvelian family is composed of three sections: the Georgian group[5], the Zan group[6], made up of Laz and Megrelian[7]; and Svan, which differs considerably from the Georgian and the Zan groups. And there are at least two levels of Kartvelian loans in Armenian, one that is most ancient, and another that was transferred in historical times[8]. Deeters makes an effort to propose sound laws that govern this early exchange of vocabulary between Armenian, and Georgian and the two Zan languages, but is unable to establish clear patterns. Deeters suggests that this is because the Kartvelian terms were borrowed not only from Classical Armenian (the literary language) but from unknown[9] and perhaps multiple early dialects[10].

[3] This process is not a new idea; in fact it stems back at least to DEETERS (1926: 73) who suggested that the Iranian loans in Georgian arrived there via the Armenian language. But we now have a clearer idea about the frequency and volume of Iranian loanwords in the Daghestani languages, and they are far too abundant to have been filtered through Armenian. They must have entered the various languages of the Caucasus independently, and are a reflection of the importance of Iranian (later of Muslim) culture on these mountian-locked people(s).

[4] Some argue, however, that the Northwest and the Northeast Caucasian languages are related, and common etymologies can be found (IVANOV [1988], with further bibliography). But where there is an apparent unity, we do not have clear methods to show that there is not a loan apparatus functioning.

[5] This group is generally broken into two sections, East Georgian (Kartalini, Ingilo, etc.) and West Georgian (Imeri, Guri, etc.).

[6] Scholars of the 19th century considered the two languages of the Zan group mutually understandable dialects, but this is clearly not so. An alternative term for the Zan group, mentioned by DEETERS, is Iberian.

[7] The odd spelling, Mingrelian, as used in Western scholarship, is of obscure etiology, but very common indeed; Megrelian reflects the native form of this proper name, and is so used in Georgian, Armenian, and Russian.

[8] Concerning the Armenian influence on Georgian, one can consult DEETERS (1926) and (1927).

[9] Others (SHILAKADZE [1951, 1983]) have suggested a special relation with the Hamshen dialect of Armenian. And though this is a western Armenian dialect (note GREPPIN and KHACHATURIAN [1986: 65-76]), these speakers moved from their traditional area near Trebizon to a new homeland in Abkhazia during the 19th century.

[10] This same problem is reflected in the earliest Iranian loanwords in Armenian. ADJARIAN (1922: 663) and others maintain that the differences in consonantism are determined by the time of the Iranian word's appearance in Armenian. Earlier Iranian words

Adjarian discusses the Georgian loanwords in Armenian in his "History of the Armenian Language" (1940, 1951: 218-225), as does Djahukian in his recent publication of the same title (1987: 584-599). Rules are formulated to explain how we can tell whether a word is lent from Georgian to Armenian or vice versa, and these rules are reasonable. Adjarian notes that certain words of Indo-European origin, found in Georgian, must be loans from Armenian, as are other words found in Georgian that are of particular Armenian shape[11]. Words shared by both languages are assumed to be Kartvelian when they are of an obvious Kartvelian shape, and when there are cognates in the various Kartvelian languages[12].

Adjarian (1951: 222-223) notes fifty-four Georgian words in Armenian though that number, due to research since then, now approaches several hundred. There seems to be no particular type of loan, such as we can claim for Hurrian and Urartian words in Armenian. The vocabulary can be widely distributed throughout the Armenian dialects (e.g., Arm. *xopʻ* "ploughshare, stake, picket", Grg. *xopi* "oar"[13]) or be little more than local words, absorbed into a narrow spectrum of Armenian dialects (e.g., Arm. *xizan* "pilgrim", Grg. *xizani* "refugee"). The words themselves may be words for things particularly Georgian that were uncommon in Armenian (e.g., Arm. *hoṙi* "second month of the Armenian year", Grg. *ori, vori, heri*[14] "two"), or duplicate words for concepts already known in Armenian (Arm. *bak* "sheepfold", Grg. *baḳi*[15] "id."[16]).

It is the general consensus that the early rapport between Armenian and the Kartvelian languages was not between Georgian and Armenian,

(presumably Parthian period [BENVENISTE 1964]) felt the effects of the Armenian sound shift; later words did not. But this rule does not explain how we can find two levels of sound shift in a single word; note Arm. *tʻakoyk* "jug", Per. *takōk* "wine jug", or Arm. *pʻ* from Ir. *p* (Arm. *pʻut* "rotten, rottenness", Per. *pūda* "to rot") when IE **p* yields Armenian *h* (Arm. *hast* "strong", OEng. *fast* "id.").

[11] The shape is reflected frequently in Armenian suffixes or prefixes. Thus Georgian *nivti* "substance, material", must be Armenian since the Armenian equivalent, *niwtʻ* "id.", is composed of the prefix *ni-* plus *hiwtʻ*. A particular Armenian suffix is found in Arm. *xoršak* "a state of excessive heat", and transferred whole as Grg. *xoršaki* "id.".

[12] Here note Arm. *očʻxar* "sheep", from Laz *čʻxuri*, Megr. *šxuri*, Grg. *cxovari* "id.". The root of this word is the same as for "life" and "animal"; note Grg. *cxoveli* "animal", and *cxovreba* "life". Thus a sheep is an animal par excellence (here we might demonstrate the distance of Svan from the nuclear groups Georgian, Laz, and Megrelian, for the term for "sheep" in Svan is *γweljāk* [GUDJEDJIANI (1985: 269)]).

[13] Elsewhere in Kartvelian we find Megr. *xopi, xobi, xopʻi* "oar", Laz *xope*.

[14] Elsewhere in Kartvelian we find Megr. *žiri, žuri*,Laz *žur, żur*, Svan *ori, heri, yervi*.

[15] Elsewhere in Kartvelian we find Laz *baki* "cowshed", Svan *bog* "id.".

[16] Here the term Arm. *pʻarax* "sheepfold" already existed.

but rather between the Zan dialects (Laz and Megrelian) and Armenian, since between Armenian and those two languages the phonetic coincidences are the closest (Deeters [1926: 46], Djahukian [1987: 595-597]). Here one might note Arm. *čanč* "fly", Laz *mçaji*, Megr. *çanji*, but Grg. *çeri*[17] "id."[18].

The next period of exchange of vocabulary between Kartvelian and Armenian is during the historical period, when the transference was clearly from Georgian, and not from the two Zan languages, Laz and Megrelian; here we note the shape of the words in their respective languages is quite similar. Note Arm. *artalay* "a light food for the sick", Grg. *artala* "a sort of food made from an animal's leg"; Grg. *balaxi* "greens", perhaps a "sorghum" (Makašvili [1961: 66]), Arm. *balax* "glasswort, *Salicornia herbacea* L." (Bedevian [1936: nr. 3029]); Arm. *tʻok* "rope", Grg. *toḳi*, Laz *toḳi*[19] "id.". Elsewhere, Abuladze notes some loans from the medieval period (1953[20] and 1967[21]). Adjarian says that there are, in all, some 900 words shared by Armenian and the Kartvelian languages, and one can assume that this exchange began at least by the end of the first millennium B.C. In the next millennium the Georgians were translating Armenian manuscripts into their own language. Ilia Abuladze wrote specifically on those exchanges of the 10th and 11th centuries (1944: 0111-0119[22]) showing that, at least among proper names, the phonemization was, at this time, quite close between the two languages. He gives such examples as Arm. *Grigorios*, Grg. *Grigori*; Arm. *Łukianos*, Grg. *Guḳiane*; Arm. *Tʻadeos*, Grg. *Tadeos*, but Arm. *Tʻałłēos*, Grg. *Tağeğeos*. And the implication is quite clear; loanwords from Armenian were coming into the Georgian language with a predictable phonemic shape. This is

[17] Kartvelian **nj* regularly yields Grg. *r*, and a shift of *č* to *c* is common too.

[18] Here we might note that some Armenian loans into Georgian have undergone phonetic transformation. Note the following Georgian words clearly of Armenian provenance: Grg. *er-i* "person", Arm. *ayr* (< IE **Anēr-*) "man"; Grg. *mgel-i* "wolf", Arm. *gayl* (< IE **wl̥-y-*). In the later Georgian language we see Armenian transferred with little change: Arm. *paykʻar* "dispute", Grg. *paekr-oba* "id.".

[19] This is a late borrowing, and is used only in the Caucasian dialects of Armenian. On this current situation, see GORGODZE (1984). For more on the Armenian dialect of Tbilisi, as it was before the arrival of Soviet power, see KOCHOYAN (1958), and GREPPIN – KHACHATURIAN (1986: 202-212).

[20] For example, Grg. *kua* "stone', Arm. *kʻuē* "cube, ballot".

[21] For example, Grg. *pinčiʻ* "nostrils", Arm. *pinčʻ* "id.".

[22] Of interest is an observation that can be made about the phonetic shape of Armenian words as they appeared in Georgian. Words with an Armenian initial *e-* and *o-*, when borrowed, were reflected in Georgian with initial *ye-* and *vo-* resp., consistent with our contemporary pronunciation.

as it should be, for unlike the earliest exchanges between Kartvelian and Armenian, which were oral, these later exchanges often occur as the result of translations, where we have the words cast in written form.

There were in Georgian, as there were in Armenian, influences of the lending language on the syntax of the receiving language[23], a point discussed in Danelia (1988) where Greek and Persian influences are noted. There are also cases of vocabulary from a third language being shared by Georgian and Armenian. These words, as Djahukian notes (1988: 77-81), can come from a well known source, such as Iranian, or can be of entirely unknown heritage. In certain of the instances in which Armenian and Georgian share vocabulary from an unknown third source, we can, according to Djahukian, posit Hurro-Urartian origin[24].

From this we can see that there is an intimate relationship, from the earliest of times, between Armenian and the Kartvelian languages. This correspondence left a residue in Armenian that is traceable to many and distinctive levels, and implies contact between Armenian culture and that of the Kartvelians, at least from the first millennium B.C.

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[23] In Armenian I refer to the effects of the so-called Hellenizing school, under which Armenian syntax was Grecified, even up to the point of acquiring Greek prepositions (GREPPIN [1984b]).

[24] E.g., Arm. *jrjel* "to snatch, rip away", Grg. *dzarc-* "plunder"; Arm. *kord* "untilled, fallow, wild", Grg. *kord* "virgin soil", Laz *kord* "lump, clod of earth", Urartian *quldi* "unbuilt, wild" (we might point out here that the Armenian and Kartvelian terms need not have come directly from Urartian, but could as well have come from any of the related languages of the Northeast Caucasus in which parallels exist).

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INDO-EUROPEAN **ḪaHs-* WITH REFLECTIONS ON HITTITE "HEARTH" AND "STAR"

Eric P. HAMP

1. A root **ḪaHs-* is to be constructed to account for Latin *āreō, ārēre* "be dry", Tocharian *ās-* "get dry", Toch. A *āsar* "dry", Skt. *ā́sa-ḥ,* "ashes", Latin *āra* "altar" (*pro aris et focis*), Oscan *aasaí*, Hittite *ḫašši* "on the hearth"[1]; I am not certain of the relation, if any of Latin *ārdeō* "be hot"and *ārdor* "heat, etc." to *āridus* "dry"[2]. In the root **ḪaHs-* one of the laryngeals must have been *a*-coloring /A/.

If we are to relate Greek ἄζω "to dry", Czech *ozditi*, Old Norse, Old High German *aska* = Old English *æsce* "ash" < Germanic **askōn-*, Gothic *azgo* "ash" (perhaps Armenian *azazem* "to dry") to **ḪaHs-*, we must have formations in zero-grade: **Həs-d-* = *ḪH̥s-d-*, **Həs-k/g-* = *ḪH̥s-k/g-*, **Həs-ĝ*^{h} - = *ḪH̥s-ĝ*^{h} -. In view of Greek *a* perhaps we had **ʕeħs-*.

There then remain two important problems unanswered. On the semantic side it is not clear whether the basic sense was "parch" or "burn up, consume with heat". On the morphological side, the function and value of the various "extensions" remain obscure[3]. The important nature of this unfinished business, and our corresponding ignorance, should not escape us.

Meantime I cannot see that Lubotsky's claim of relating **sausos* to this root lends any clarity at all. We appear to have here a case of reductionism that instead complicates the assumed morphology.

2. Allan R. Bomhard[4] is surely right that the etymon of English *star* and its derivatives is common Indo-European, and Diakonoff's objection to a Semitic origin seems to me (a non-Semiticist) well-founded[5].

[1] I cannot accept V. GEORGIEV's **hes-* nor his vowel lengthening with loss of a laryngeal ("PIE **hes-*, 'trocken' and **hes-eh-*, 'trocken machen'", *Linguistique Balkanique* 29 [1986] 5-7).

[2] And therefore I cannot agree with A. LUBOTSKY, "The PIE word for 'dry'", *ZVS* 98 (1985) 6.

[3] GEORGIEV's **-eh-* is unlikely, since it suffixed normally to a thematic.

[4] "An Etymological Note: PIE **H̥s-tēr-* 'Star'", *JIES* 14 (1986) 191-192.

[5] [Editor's note: I call attention without prejudice to V. BLAŽEK, "The Semitic divine name **ʿaṯtar(-at-)* and its possible Afroasiatic cognates", in: P. ZEMÁNEK (ed.) *Studies in*

If, however, this etymon is as old as it is agreed to be, then we must expect it to be morphologically well formed[6]. From a base *$\bar{a}$s- "burn, glow" (accepting for the moment Bomhard's adoption of Pokorny's gloss and thereby preferring the semantics of Hittite *ḫašši*) it is clear from the foregoing that I cannot follow Bomhard's reconstruction of *$\underset{\circ}{H}$s-tér-*, but would require a zero-grade *$\underset{\smile}{H}\underset{\circ}{H}$s-*. This then creates difficulties with at least the Latin initial *s-*, with no preceding vowel[7].

Moreover, I have suggested[8] that the Helleno-Armenian (resp. ἀστήρ/*astł*) initial vowel may be explained as *$s\underset{\circ}{m}$-*, in contrast with the designation of constellations in Indo-European. Unfortunately we do not yet know the forms of "one" in Hittite.

Near Eastern Languages and Literatures: Memorial Volume of Karel Petráček. Praha, 1996 [1997] 133-141 for an all encompassing discussion of the AA and the IE material. YLA].

[6] As the basis for this reasoning we can scarcely do bettter than borrow the final clause of the words of MEILLET cited by F. KORTLANDT, "Comments on R. Orr's View", *JIES* 14 (1986) 184: "Il est étrange que, pour éviter d'admettre des traitements phonétiques qui ne contredisent aucun traitement connu des mêmes phonèmes placés dans les mêmes conditions, on ait recouru à des hypothèses analogiques qui sont ou arbitraires ou invraisemblables, comme si les difficultés morphologiques étaient, par nature, chose moins grave que les difficultés phonétiques". I pass over here the fact that BOMHARD never explains in his note why the first element would be in zero-grade nor accounts for the identity of the final member.

[7] See my discussion of double laryngeal initials in "The Indo-European Horse", in T.L. MARKEY – John A.C. GREPPIN (edd.) *When Worlds Collide: Indo-Europeans and Pre-Indo-Europeans*. Ann Arbor, 1990, 211-216. One way out of this is to suppose that *$\underset{\smile}{H}$H-* = *ʕh-* became within IE time *H_{a}-* by assimilation.

[8] "The principal (?) Indo-European constellations". In: Luigi HEILMANN (ed.) *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Congress of Linguists (Bologna 1972)*. Bologna, 1975, II: 1047-1055; "Armenian Miscellanea", *Annual of Armenian Linguistics* 3 (1982) 55; "Remarks on *astuac*", *AAL* 5 (1984) 87-89.

TIERE ALS *MATERIA MAGICA* IM RITUAL DER ZUWI (CTH 412)

Manfred HUTTER

Die Fragmente eines magischen Rituals, die E. Laroche in CTH 412 zusammengestellt hat, sind aufgrund der großen Lückenhaftigkeit im Erhaltungszustand bislang nur gelegentlich berücksichtigt worden[1]. In diesem Rahmen sollen daher einige Beobachtungen zur Textzusammenstellung sowie über die im Ritual genannten Tiere beigesteuert werden, die dazu dienen können, zur Gesamtinterpretation dieses interessanten, aber schwierigen Textes etwas beizutragen.

1. Zur Textzusammenstellung

Nach der Eröffnungszeile und dem auf der dritten Tafel erhaltenen Kolophon stammt dieses Ritual von Zuwi; der Zweck des Rituals wird dahingehend umschrieben, daß eine Durchführung nötig ist, wenn der Wettergott den Opfermandanten in Angst versetzt[2]; in einem solchen Fall wird er in der Art des "Mannes des Wettergottes" behandelt[3]. Da einige Texte des Rituals seit dem Catalogue von E. Laroche neu ediert worden sind, ist hier eine neue Textanordnung vorzunehmen, wobei in unserem Fall diejenigen Texte unberücksichtigt bleiben, deren Einordnung in den Verlauf des Rituals unsicher ist.

Für die erste Tafel steht uns nach wie vor nur KBo XII 106 + KBo XIII 146 zur Verfügung. — Ein neuer Textzuwachs ist für KUB XII 63 + KUB XXXVI 70 zu verzeichnen, indem A. Kempinski ein Fragment

[1] Vgl. die Teilbearbeitungen durch FRIEDRICH (1944: 208-210), HAAS (1971: 415-417), NEU (1980: 23-26), COLLINS (1990: 214f); einen in CTH 412 noch nicht angeführten Text hat KEMPINSKI (1975) identifiziert. Zur Zeit der ursprünglichen Abfassung des Manuskripts im Herbst 1989 gab es m.W. noch keine Gesamtbearbeitung des Textes, die inzwischen fertiggestellte Dissertation von GIORGIERI (1990) ist mir nicht zugänglich.

[2] KBo XII 106 + KBo XIII 146 i 2: ^{D}U-*aš ú-e-ri-da-nu-zi*; vgl. auch H. OTTENS Vorwort zu KBo XII, wo allerdings fälschlicherweise vom "Mondgott" die Rede ist.

[3] KUB VII 57 + KUB XXXV 148 iv 25-27: DUB.3.KAM *Ú-UL QA-TI* [*A*]-*WA-AT*[!] ^{MUNUS}*Zu-ú-i* MUNUS ^{URU}*An-gul-lu-wa ma-a-an* LÚ-*an* LÚ ^{D}U-*ni-li a-ni-ya-mi*; vgl. E. LAROCHE: *BiOr* 11 (1954: 122).

aus Jerusalemer Privatbesitz veröffentlichen konnte, dessen Z. 22-24 zu KUB XII 63+ Vs.4-5 parallel sind[4]. Weiters hat H. A. Hoffner erkannt, daß KBo XXII 118 ii zu KUB XII 63+ Vs. 9-16 parallel verläuft[5]. Eventuell ist diese Tafel als zweite Tafel des Rituals zu zählen, wie sich aus inhaltlichen Erwägungen wahrscheinlich machen läßt. — Als weiteres Exemplar der dritten Tafel ist zwar nur KUB VII 57 + KUB XXXV 148 zu identifizieren, doch scheint es möglich zu sein, auch KUB XXXV 147 Rs. und KBo XXII 100 mit KUB XXXV 148 iii 20-31 zu verbinden. Auch KBo XXIV 51 und 52 klingen durch das magische Lecken wenigstens entfernt an KUB XXXV 148 iii 14ff an. — Unklar bleibt die Einordnung der weiteren von Laroche in CTH 412 gebuchten Fragmente: KUB XLIII 53 mit den dazugehörigen Duplikaten[6], KBo XIII 94, KUB XXXIII 44 und VBoT 111, wobei die beiden letzteren Fragmenten nicht unbedingt zum Zuwi-Ritual gehören müssen.

Für die ausgesprochene Vermutung, in KUB XII 63 + KUB XXXVI 70 die zweite Tafel des Rituals zu sehen, sprechen mehrere Überlegungen: Wenn man davon ausgeht, daß magische Rituale nicht linear aufgebaut sind, sondern in ihnen Stufen von "magischen Reinheitsgraden" zu erkennen sind[7], so darf man die Wortmagie in KUB XII 63+ Vs. 24-33 einer früheren Phase im Ritualverlauf zuordnen. Nachdem nämlich der Rechtsentscheid im Ritual nicht durchführbar war, wurde die Angelegenheit "schwierig"[8], so daß weitere magische Handlungen notwendig sind. Zu diesem Zweck nehmen verschiedene Götter jene Gegenstände an sich[9], die in der Aufzählung der für die Durchführung des Rituals notwendigen Utensilien genannt sind. Die Verlagerung des "Schauplatzes" des Rituals von der menschlichen auf die göttlich-mythologische Ebene setzt sich auch noch zu Beginn der dritten Tafel fort, wobei hier nochmals Beziehungen zur Vorbereitung des Rituals erkennbar sind; denn die Schutzgottheit nimmt weitere für das Ritual bereitgestellte Gegenstände an sich (KUB XXXV 148 ii 10-14). — Weiters ist die Einordnung von KUB VII 57 + KUB XXXV 148 gleich nach KUB XII 63+ m.E. dadurch gerechtfertigt, da

[4] KEMPINSKI (1975: 91); die ebd. vermutete Parallelität der Z. 2-4 dieses Fragments mit KBo XIII 94, Z. 6-8 scheint mir weniger wahrscheinlich zu sein.

[5] H.A. HOFFNER: *BiOr* 33 (1976: 337).

[6] A: KUB XLIII 53; B.1: KBo XXX 30 Vs. (+) KBo XVII 17 Rs.(!) = A i 18-30; B.2: KBo XXX 30 Rs. (+) KBo XVII 17 Vs.(!); C: KUB LVIII 111 Vs. 7ff = A i 16ff; Rs. 9ff = B.2, Z. 6ff.

[7] Vgl. HAAS – THIEL (1978: 89); HUTTER (1988: 111f).

[8] KUB XII 63+ Vs. 32f (ergänzt nach Vs. 27): [(*na-an* LUGAL-*wa-aš a-aš-ka*)] *pé-e-ḫu-te-er Ú-UL ḫa-an-ne-eš-ša-še-et ḫa-an-na-at Ú-UL ut-tar na-a*[*k-ke-eš-ta*].

[9] Vgl. KUB XII 63+ Rs. 15-22. 23-31 mit KBo XII 106+ i 6ff.

die von den Göttern genommenen Tiere auch in den magischen Praktiken, die auf der dritten Tafel beschrieben sind, Verwendung finden[10].

Ist die Zusammenstellung der Texte in dieser Form richtig, so läuft das Ritual der Zuwi in folgender Form ab: Nach den vorbereitenden Riten der Zurüstung beginnen die Ritualhandlungen, in deren Verlauf Tiere eine wichtige Rolle spielen, teils in realer Form als *materia magica*, teils in mythologischem Sinne. Da aber nur von den ersten drei Tafeln größere Abschnitte in zusammenhängender Form erhalten sind, bleibt es vorerst unklar, wie das Ritual beendet wurde. Allerdings hängt die Funktion der Tiere im Ritual eng mit dem Anlaß und dem Zweck des gesamten Rituals zusammen.

2. Magische Handlungen mit Tieren

Gleich zu Beginn der ersten Tafel werden folgende Tiere genannt, die neben den anderen Utensilien für die Durchführung des Rituals bereitgestellt werden, KBo XII 106+ i:

(4) … 1 G]U_4.MAḪ 1 UDU.A.LUM 1 MÁŠ.GAL
(5) 1 MÁŠ.GAL.ŠIR-*aš* 1 UZ_6 1 UDU.ÁŠ.[MUNUS.GÀR 1 UR.G]I_7? 1 UR.TUR 1 ŠAḪ

Im Verlauf des Rituals spielen die genannten Tiere (Stier, Widder, Bock, Ziegenbock, Ziege, Jungschaf, Hund, Welpe, Schwein) bei einzelnen magischen Handlungen eine Rolle, wobei sie sowohl von der Magierin[11], die das Ritual in der Art des "Mannes des Wettergottes" vollzieht, als auch von den Göttern verwendet werden. Die Funktion der Tiere besteht dabei darin, daß sie dazu beitragen, das Unheil, aufgrund dessen das Ritual notwendig geworden ist, in sicherer Form zu beseitigen. Neben den real verwendeten Tieren werden noch in jenem Abschnitt, der das ganze Ritual auf die rechtliche Ebene verlagert, ein Wolf, ein Löwe und eine Schlange erwähnt. Die besser erhaltenen Abschnitte des Rituals lauten nun wie folgt:

KUB XII 63 Vs. 24-28 (ergänzt z. T. nach Vs. 30-33)[12]
(24) … *ta-lu-ga-uš-wa* KASKAL$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ *ma-ni-k[u-an-da-aḫ-ten ma-ni-ku-an-du-ša]*

[10] Vgl. KUB XII 63+ Rs. 23f mit KUB XXXV 148 iii 2-9. 14-37. 40-42.
[11] Zuwi wird zwar nirgends ausdrücklich als ^{MUNUS}ŠU.GI bezeichnet, doch darf man sie als solche betrachten, da Magierinnen im Ritual genannt werden, vgl. KUB VII 57+ i 8.
[12] Vgl. die Bearbeitung des Abschnittes durch FRIEDRICH (1944: 209f).

(25) *ta-lu-ga-nu-ut-ten* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} *pár-ga-u$^{!}$-uš ma-ni-ku-an-da-aḫ-ten ma-ni-ku-an-du-ša p[ár-ga-nu-ut-ten]*

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(26) UR.BAR.RA *ki-iš-šar-ta e-ep-ten* UR.MAḪ *ga-nu-ut e-ep-ten* ÍD-*an k[u-wa-an-ku-nu-ur-ra ḫar-ten]*

(27) MUŠ-*an zu-wa-al-wa-la-a-ten na-an* LUGAL-*wa-aš a-aš-ka pé-e-ḫu-te-et-ten nu* DI-*[eš-šar-šet ḫa-an-na-ru]*

(28) *nu an-ni-iš-ki-mi ku-in na-an-kán ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi*

"Die langen Wege macht kurz und die kurzen macht lang. Die hohen Berge macht niedrig und die niedrigen macht hoch. Den Wolf fangt mit der Hand, den Löwen fangt mit dem Knie, Fluß und Strömung haltet fest. Die Schlange würgt und bringt sie zum Tor des Königs. Seine Rechtssache soll er entscheiden!" — Dieser Auftrag, den der (Mann des) Tempel(s) des Wettergottes den *ḫurkel*-Leuten gibt, kann von ihnen allerdings nicht ausgeführt werden (vgl. KUB XII 63 Vs. 29-33), so daß die Rechtsangelegenheit, als welche man ein Ritual verstehen kann[13], schwierig wird. Die drei genannten Tiere, die unter den in der Ritualzurüstung angeführten Materialien nicht aufgezählt werden, sind wohl — gleich wie die *ḫurkel*-Leute — als Repräsentanten der Widersacher des Opfermandanten zu sehen, die mit ihm im Rechtsstreit stehen. Nachdem es den *ḫurkel*-Leuten nicht gelingt, sich deren Hilfe zu versichern, kann der Rechtsstreit nicht entschieden werden, so daß das Ritual mit weiteren Handlungen fortgesetzt werden muß. Im Verlauf dieser Handlungen treten auch die Götter Šišummi, Hapatalija und Antalija auf, die in den Tempel des Wettergottes eintreten, d. h. sie stehen auf seiten des "Mannes des Wettergottes" und des Opfermandanten. Damit der weitere Ritualverlauf erfolgreich vor sich geht, werden diese Götter mit einigen Tieren sowie Gegenständen, mit denen später magische Handlungen zur "Heilung" des Opfermandanten durchgeführt werden, in Beziehung gesetzt[14].

KUB XII 63 Rs. 23-31:

(23) *ŠA* GU_4.MAḪ *ku-iš nu-za* GU_4.MAḪ-*an da-a-aš ŠA* UDU.[A.LUM *ku-iš nu-za* UDU.A.LUM *da-a-aš ŠA* MÁŠ.GAL *ku-iš*

(24) *nu-za* MÁŠ.GAL *da-a-aš* UR.TUR-*ša ku-iš nu-za* UR.TUR-*an [da-a-aš…]*

(25) ^{TÚG}*ku-re-eš-na-ša ku-iš nu-za* ^{TÚG}*ku-re-e-eš-šar [da-a-aš…]*

(26) ^{SÍG}*ki-iš-ša-re-e-ša ku-i-e-eš nu-za* ^{SÍG}*ki-iš-[ri-in da-a-ir…]*

[13] HAAS (1994: 889).

[14] Ein solcher Akt des In-Beziehung-Setzens geschieht in magischen Ritualen öfters, vgl. für weitere Beispiele HUTTER (1988: 79) und HAAS – THIEL (1978: 288f).

(27) *ḫur-ki-ša ku-iš nu-za ḫur-ki-in da-a-aš* DUGKA.GAG.[A-*ša ku-iš nu-za* DUGKA.GAG.A *da-a-aš* DUG-*ša ku-iš]*
(28) *nu-za* DUG-*uš*! KI.MIN DIM_4-*ša ku-iš nu-za* DIM_4 KI.MIN [BAPPIR-*ša ku-iš nu-za* BAPPIR KI.MIN *i-ya-at-na-ša ku-iš]*
(29) *n[u-z]a i-ya-a-ta* KI.MIN *ŠA EM-ṢÍ* KI.MIN GU_4.[MAḪ...]
(30) *[ ]x nu-za* KI.MIN D*An-ta-li-ya-aš-ša ku-iš [ ]*
(31) *[da]-a-ir na-at-kán pa-ra-a i-ya-an-ni-ir*

"Wer des Stieres ist, nahm einen Stier; wer des Widders ist, nahm einen Widder; wer des Ziegenbocks ist, nahm einen Ziegenbock; wer des Welpen ist, nahm einen Welpen; wer des Kopftuches ist, nahm ein Kopftuch; die der Schlinge[15] sind, nahmen eine Schlinge;... wer des Rades ist, nahm ein Rad; wer des Bieres ist, nahm Bier; wer des Topfes ist, Töpfe dto.; wer des Malzes ist, Malz dto.; wer des Bierbrotes ist, Bierbrot dto.; wer der Fülle, Fülle dto.; wer des Labes, dto.; wer des Stieres... dto.; und wer der Antalija ist, [...] sie nahmen. Nun marschierten sie aus ihm (d. i. Tempel) heraus". — Obwohl die ersten beiden Kolumnen der dritten Tafel recht schlecht erhalten sind, ist zu sehen, daß der Opfermandant (symbolisch) dem Wettergott als Botschaft(er) geschickt wird, worauf der Wettergott mit Unheilsankündigungen reagiert[16]. Weiters nimmt die Schutzgottheit einige Ritualutensilien an sich. Die dritte Kolumne der Tafel ist besser erhalten, wobei folgende drei Analogiezauber ausgeführt werden: ein Ziegenbock wird hinausgetrieben, nachdem ihm mit Zauber infizierter Speichel in sein Maul gespuckt wurde; ein Welpe leckt die Krankheiten des Opfermandanten weg; wie verschiedene Tiere eingeschlossen werden, so soll auch das Unheil eingeschlossen sein:

KUB XXXV 148 iii 2-9:
(2) *]x* MÁŠ.GAL *ḫa-a-šir* KAxU-*za-aš-ši-kán*
(3) *wa]-ar-aš-ta a-ar-ra-az-ma-aš-ši-kán*!
(4) *]-kán* DUMU.LÚ.U_{19}.LU-*kán iš-ša-a-az*
(5) *w]a-ar-aš-ta ar-ra-az-ma-aš-ši-kán*
(6) *-ḫ]u-ni-zi* SIḪI.A-*ŠU* KUN-*ya kal-la-ar*
(7) *-w]a* KAxU-*iš-ši al-la-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi*
(8) *] pa-ra-a pé-en-ni-an-zi*

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[15] Zu *kišri-* vgl. zuletzt MASSON (1989: 164, 172 Anm. 46).
[16] KUB XXXV 148 i 6-8: DIM-*aš-wa* URU*Li-iḫ-zi-na-an* [IGIḪI.A-*wa] kat-ta ḫu-wa-ap-pa-aḫ-ḫi...* MUNUS.MEŠŠU.GI *iš-pár-nu-mi*; vgl. dazu auch OETTINGER (1976: 44).

Wenn ich dieses Fragment richtig interpretiere, so dient der Ziegenbock dazu, daß durch einen Abstreifzauber[17] alles Unheil vom Menschen auf ihn übertragen und an Hörnern und Schwanz befestigt wird. Zusätzlich wird noch das Böse vom Opfermandanten dadurch entfernt, daß er dem Ziegenbock ins Maul spuckt. Da Speichel[18] eine besonders magiekräftige Materie ist, eignet er sich bestens dafür, daß alle Unreinheit, gegen die das Ritual durchgeführt wird, dadurch beseitigt werden kann, indem sie der Ziegenbock mit dem Speichel wegträgt. Funktionell gleichbedeutend ist die nächste Handlung, die ebenfalls auf die Wirkkraft des Speichels abzielt.

KUB XXXV 148 iii 14-19[19]:
(14) *na-an-ši-pát an-da* ZAG-*az e-ep-mi* UR.TUR-*aš-za ma-aḫ-ḫa-an*
(15) 9 ^{UZU}*ḫa-ap-pé-eš-šar-še-et li-ip-zi*
(16) *nu-kán an-tu-uḫ-ša-an ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi*
(17) *ki-i-el-la ḫa-ap-pé-eš-na-aš i-na-an QA-TAM-MA*
(18) *li-ip-du* ^{UZU}ZAG.UDU-*aš i-na-an li-ip-du*
(19) *ga-ak-kar-ta-an-<ni>-ya-aš-ša-aš i-na-an li-ip-du*

- -

“Nun fasse ich ihn an der rechten Seite an. ‘Wie der Welpe seine neun Körperteile leckt’, — (dabei) nenne ich den Namen des Menschen — ‘ebenso soll er die Krankheit der Glieder lecken; die Krankheit der Schulter soll er lecken, die Krankheit des Schulterblattes soll er lecken’”. — In gleicher Weise wird diese Behandlung von hinten (iii 20-28) und von der linken Seite (iii 32-35) her wiederholt, so daß der Welpe insgesamt dreimal alle “neun”[20] Körperteile des zu Behandelnden leckt. Daran schließt sich ein Beschwörungsspruch an.

KUB XXXV 148 iii 38-44:
(38) *i-ya-an-za i-ya-an-za da-ak-ku-da-ku-wa-a[n-te-eš]*
(39) *i-ya-an-zi ša-ra-ku-wa-an-te-eš i-ya-an-z[i]*
(40) GU_4-*uš* É *ki-iz-zu-mi-ya da-ak-ku-da-ku-wa-a-i[r]*
(41) UDU-*un ḫi-i-la-aš da-ak-da-ku-wa-a-ir* UR.GI_7 *ḫar-pí* K[I.MIN]
(42) [ŠA]Ḫ *ḫu-u-um-mi* KI.MIN *nu an-ni-iš-ki-mi ku-in [an-tu-uḫ-ša-an]*
(43) *[na-an-kán] ŠUM-ŠU ḫal-zi-iḫ-ḫi za-aḫ-ḫi-ya-wa-ra-aš pa-it*
(44) *[d]a-ak-ku-da-ku-wa-at-ta-a[t]*

[17] Vgl. HAAS (1994: 898-901).

[18] Vgl. HAAS (1994: 879, 885); zum Spucken in magischen Kontexten siehe auch KAMMENHUBER (1985: 78-88).

[19] Vgl. auch die Bearbeitung von iii 14-28 und iii 32-43 bei COLLINS (1990: 214f).

[20] Die Neunzahl der Körperteile steht als “kanonische” Zahl neben der Zwölfzahl, ohne daß bei einer Detailaufzählung in solchen Texten tatsächlich neun (bzw. zwölf) Körperteile zu nennen sind; es geht vielmehr um den Ausdruck der Gesamtheit. Zur Zwölfzahl der Körperteile siehe zuletzt MASSON (1989: 175-182).

"(Es ist/sei) wirkend, (es ist/sei) wirkend. Die Eingeschlossenen gehen, die 'Gestiefelten' gehen. Die Rinder schlossen sie im *kizzumi*-Stall ein, das Schaf schlossen sie im Viehhof ein, den Hund schlossen sie im Zwinger dto., das Schwein im Schweinestall dto.; welchen Menschen ich behandle, dessen Namen rufe ich: 'Zum Kampf ist er gegangen, [ ] er wurde eingeschlossen'". — Man darf wohl annehmen, daß das Einschließen der Tiere hier analog dazu stehen soll, daß auch das Unheil, das den Opfermandanten betroffen hat, durch die magische Behandlung weggesperrt werden soll, so daß es ihm nicht mehr schaden kann. M.E. darf man dies auch aus dem Beginn der vierten Kolumne ablesen, wenn dort weitere magische Handlungen durchgeführt werden, ohne daß allerdings — da sich das Verbum in den meisten Fällen hinter der abkürzenden Schreibung KI.MIN verbirgt — gesagt werden kann, welcher Art diese Handlungen sind. Bemerkenswert ist allerdings, daß die *ḫurkel*-Leute davon betroffen sind[21]. Genauso läßt der sehr fragmentarische Vergleich in iv 17-19 erkennen, daß den Opfermandanten der Eid nicht ergreifen soll, während in iv 21 noch zu lesen ist, daß (etwas Negatives) weggeschwenkt wird. Alle diese Handlungen zeigen — trotz ihrer Lückenhaftigkeit — die Entfernung des negativen Zustandes vom Opfermandanten, vergleichbar mit der Funktion der Tiere am Ende der dritten Kolumne.

3. Ansätze zur Gesamtinterpretation

Während der magische Charakter der Handlungen mit Tieren klar ist, bleibt die präzise Deutung, welche Funktion sie im Gesamtverlauf des Rituals haben, schwierig. Überhaupt ist es aufgrund des fragmentarischen Erhaltungszustandes des Rituals noch nicht möglich, eine sichere Gesamtinterpretation anzubieten, doch sollen wenigstens einige Überlegungen formuliert werden. Ausgehend von der Einleitung und vom Kolophon ergibt sich, daß das Ritual als Reaktion auf ein Verhalten des Wettergottes zu betrachten ist, wodurch der Opfermandant in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden ist. Durch die Durchführung dieses Rituals ist dabei der Opfermandant wieder "heil" zu machen, wobei dies in der "Art des Mannes des Wettergottes" geschehen muß, wohl wegen der Vorstellung, daß der Gott, der den Opfermandanten schädigt/straft, ihn

[21] KUB XXXV 148 iv 13: *ḫur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za* LÚ^{MEŠ}-*in-za* (luw. Akk. Pl.); wahrscheinlich auch iv 16, wo nur der Akk. LÚ^{MEŠ}-*uš* steht.

auch wieder heilen kann. Wie sich der negative Einfluß des Wettergottes auf den Opfermandanten auswirkt, wird in den uns vorliegenden Partien des Textes nicht beschrieben, lediglich der Hinweis, daß "der Wettergott in Angst versetzt"[22], deutet dies an, wobei die Ursache dieser Angst aber ebenfalls ungenannt bleibt. Weiters ist zu beachten, daß ein Teil des Rituals (unsere zweite Tafel) von einer Auseinandersetzung zwischen dem Tempel des Wettergottes und den *ḫurkel*-Leuten handelt, wobei dieser Streit als Rechtsangelegenheit beim Tor des Königs geklärt werden soll. Es scheint dabei wahrscheinlich zu sein, daß diese Leute stellvertretend für den — noch verunreinigten — Opfermandanten stehen, gleich wie der Tempel des Wettergottes für den "Mann des Wettergottes" als desjenigen, der die magische Reinigung vollzieht, steht[23].

Hier liegt nun m.E. der Ausgangspunkt zur Deutung des Rituals, nämlich daß das Ritual durchzuführen ist, wenn ein Fall von *ḫurkel* vorliegt, wobei in unserem Fall die präzise Deutung des Ausdrucks *ḫurkel*, worin ein sexuelles Vergehen zu sehen ist, eher sekundär ist[24]. Diese Deutung ist durch folgende Argumente zu stützen. Grundsätzlich ist zu sagen, daß es Rituale zu diesem Zweck gegeben hat, wie etwa KBo XII 115 Rs. zeigt[25]:

(1) DUB.1.KAM! *QA-TI*
(2) *ma-a-an* UN!-*aš ḫ[(ur-ke-el i-ya-zi)]*
(3) *nu-za* DUMU.MUNUS-*ŠU* NIN-*[ŠU* (AMA-*ŠU da-a-i)]*
(4) *nu-za ki-i da-[aḫ-ḫi]*

Daß der "Mann des Wettergottes" mit der magischen Beseitigung von *ḫurkel* befaßt sein konnte, geht aus dem von H. A. Hoffner[26] bekanntgemachten Fragment 827/z hervor; gemeinsam mit der Magierin führt er offensichtlich die Reinigungsriten durch, um den Opfermandanten wieder zu entsühnen. Dem entspricht in unserem Ritual, daß Zuwi zwar allein, allerdings "in der Art des Mannes des Wettergottes" die Reinigung vollzieht. — Da der "Rechtsfall" beim Tor des Königs geklärt werden soll, ist es wohl erlaubt, auch auf die hethitischen Gesetze zu verweisen, in denen verschiedene Fälle sexueller Vergehen behandelt werden, die z. T. ebenfalls als *ḫurkel* charakterisiert werden[27]. Wenn

[22] KBo XII 106 + KBo XIII 146 i 2: DU-*aš ú-e-ri-da-nu-zi*.

[23] Vgl. FRIEDRICH (1944: 208).

[24] Vgl. STARKE (1990: 343f); JUSTUS (1988) schlägt einen hattischen Ursprung für das Wort vor: hatt. *ḫurki-* "Thron, Gericht" + Ableitungssuffix *-el*: "der des Gerichts".

[25] CTH 445, Ergänzungen nach IBoT II 117 iv 1-3; vgl. dazu auch HOFFNER (1973: 86-89).

[26] HOFFNER (1973: 89).

[27] Vgl. FRIEDRICH (1959: 112-115); weiters PUHVEL (1986: 152f).

ein Mann mit Rind (GU_4), Schaf (UDU), Hund ($UR.GI_7$) oder Schwein (ŠAḪ) sündigt, so ist es *ḫurkel*, und man bringt ihn zum Tor des Königs, der ihn töten oder leben lassen kann (HG §§187.188.199), während man denjenigen, der sich mit Pferd oder Maultier abgibt, nicht zum Tor des Königs bringt, weil hierin kein *ḫurkel* zu sehen ist (§200A). Bemerkenswert scheint mir, daß dieselben Tiere auch in KUB XXXV 148 iii 40-42 genannt werden: Sie werden in ihren Stallungen eingeschlossen, und damit wird auch die ihnen anhaftende Unreinheit weggesperrt und vom Opfermandanten entfernt. Genauso ist hier nochmals auf jene Tiere zu verweisen, die die *ḫurkel*-Leute überwältigen sollen[28], wozu sie aber nicht imstande sind. J. Friedrich deutete diesen Passus dahingehend, daß die *ḫurkel*-Leute haarsträubende und unerhörte Taten vollbringen wollen[29], was ihnen aber nicht gelingt. Es ist aber möglich, in der Aufzählung von Löwe, Wolf und Schlange Tiere zu sehen, die aufgrund ihrer Wildheit sich kaum dazu eignen, daß mit ihnen *ḫurkel* begangen werden kann. Wenn es den *ḫurkel*-Leuten gelänge, diese Tiere zu fangen, wäre dies eine Legitimation für ihre Handlungsweise[30], so daß der Rechtsentscheid des Königs positiv ausfallen müßte. Da sie dazu nicht imstande sind, bleibt der Rechtsentscheid aus, so daß das weitere Ritual notwendig ist. — Die übrigen Reinigungshandlungen im Ritual, wobei Tiere in verschiedener Weise vorkommen, sind zwar weit verbreitete magische Handlungen, doch widersprechen sie der vorgeschlagenen Deutung nicht. Daß das Ritual mit sexuellen Vergehen zu tun hat, könnte noch im Fragment KBo XIII 94 zu sehen sein, das im Verlauf des Rituals gegen Ende einzuordnen sein dürfte. Zweimal wird dem Opfermandanten "Ansehen und Ruhm"[31] zugesichert, wobei diese beiden Heilsbegriffe zwei Komponenten umfassen: Einerseits wird dadurch gesagt, daß der Opfermandant wieder in der Gemeinschaft akzeptiert ist, was besonders dann interessant ist, wenn man bedenkt, daß in älterer Zeit jemand, der schuldig befunden wurde, *ḫurkel* zu tun, entweder hingerichtet oder aus der

[28] KUB XII 63 + KUB XXXVI 70 Vs. 26f.31-33.

[29] FRIEDRICH (1944: 208f Anm. 2); so auch PUHVEL (1971: 44), der jedoch betont, daß in ihnen einfach "Kriminelle, Gewalttätige" zu sehen seien.

[30] Vgl. PUHVEL (1986: 154), der sie als "sex-related miscreants fit to be strung up [...] but who were given a chance to redeem themselves [...] by strangling wild animals as a form of substitute atonement" bezeichnet. PUHVELS Deutung der *ḫurkel*-Leute als Homosexuelle im Vergleich mit germanischen Parallelen hat aber wenig Anhalt in der hethitischen Gesellschaft, vgl. dazu JUSTUS 1988. Darüberhinaus bleibt bei PUHVELS Deutung unberücksichtigt, daß das Ritual der Zuwi aus der hattischen Kultschicht stammt.

[31] KBo XIII 94, 11.15: *[nu]-ú-un tu-u-ma-an-t[i-ya-an]*.

Stadt verbannt wurde, wobei diese Bestrafung erst ab Hattušili III. durch eine Geldstrafe und ein Substitutstier, das verbannt wurde, abgelöst wurde[32]. Andererseits bringen diese Heilsbegriffe aber nochmals die sexuelle Sphäre zum Ausdruck: Denn in zahlreichen Ritualen — besonders aus dem luwisch-kizzuwatnischen bzw. hurritischen Milieu — sind diese beiden Begriffe mit Heilsreihen verknüpft[33], die die Vitalität und Virilität des Opfermandanten betonen. Wenn dem Opfermandanten in unserem Fall *nu-* und *tummantiya-* wiedergegeben werden, so heißt das, daß sein Sexualverhalten wiederum in gesellschaftlich genormte Bahnen gelenkt wurde. Das ganze Ritual der Zuwi dient somit dem Zweck, jemanden, der eines als *ḫurkel* gewerteten Sexualvergehens schuldig geworden war, wieder zu entsühnen und in die Gesellschaft aufzunehmen. Die speziellen Handlungen mit Tieren im Verlauf des Rituals zeigen dabei, daß diese sexuellen Vergehen näherhin als Sodomie identifiziert werden können.

Die beiden zuletzt genannten Heilsbegriffe deuten auf eine luwische Beeinflussung des Rituals hin, was noch dadurch verstärkt wird, daß in KUB XXXV 148 iv 13 mit *ḫur-ki-la-aš-ši-in-za* LÚ^{MEŠ}*-in-za* eine luwische Form belegt ist. Sachlich ist dieses Milieu etwa in KUB XLIII 53 greifbar, wenn die Körperteile des Ersatztieres mit den Körperteilen des Opfermandanten in Beziehung gesetzt werden[34], genauso wie es in der Vorstellung des magischen Ausspuckens zu sehen ist[35]. — Das Alter des Textes scheint jedoch auf eine Zeit zu weisen, die noch vor dem verstärkten Eindringen luwischer Vorstellungen in das hethitische Schrifttum seit dem Mittelhethitischen liegt. Denn nicht nur die junge Niederschrift KUB XLIII 53 weist etwa durch die Verwendung von enklitischen Possessivpronomina oder der Partikel *-(a)pa* Elemente alter Sprache auf[36], sondern es existieren dazu auch die beiden althethitischen Duplikate KBo XVII 17 und KBo XXX 30[37]. Genauso zeigt KUB XII 63+ mehrfach Elemente, die darauf hindeuten, daß der Tafel eine althethitische Vorlage vorangegangen ist. Als solche sprachliche Indizien sind wiederum die Partikel *-(a)pa* zu nennen, genauso *-še* statt *-ši*, der Direktiv auf *-a* statt des jüngeren formalen Zusammenfalls mit dem Dativ-Lokativ oder auch die Verbalen-

[32] HOFFNER (1973: 90).
[33] HAAS – WILHELM (1974: 21, 56f, 93).
[34] Vgl. HUTTER (1988: 131) mit weiterer Literatur.
[35] Vgl. KAMMENHUBER (1985: 78-88).
[36] Vgl. NEU (1980: 23).
[37] NEU (1980: 24f); NEU (1983: 368).

dungen *-wani* bzw. *-tani* anstelle von *-weni* bzw. *-teni*. Diese Elemente lassen es wahrscheinlich werden, daß das Ritual von Zuwi bereits in althethitischer Zeit abgefaßt wurde[38], wobei im Laufe der langen Überlieferung neue Versionen[39] des Rituals entstanden sind, in welchem Zusammenhang auch die luwischen Komponenten in den Text Eingang gefunden haben.

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[38] Vgl. auch E. LAROCHE: *BiOr* 11 (1954: 122), der auf den hattischen Ursprung verweist.

[39] Dadurch läßt sich auch die Diskrepanz erklären, weshalb nach der ersten Tafel die Herkunft von Zuwi mit Durmitta, nach der dritten Tafel und dem von KEMPINSKI (1975: 92, Z. 9) edierten Bruchstück mit Angulluwa angegeben wird.

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THE LYCIAN SHIFT *ã* > *u* AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF THE EPIGRAPHIC MATERIALS

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1. In spite of more than a century of research on Lycian inscriptions, many of the words attested in the inscriptions remain obscure, and much of the grammar of Lycian is in need of close scrutiny. An intricate problem of Lycian — and we will confine ourselves to Lycian A — is the internal history of the language, which is still obscure in view of the very approximate chronology proposed for the inscriptions. The aim of this paper is to explore a particular problem in the grammar of Lycian raised by the epigraphic data, and to study the problem both as a descriptive and as a diachronic one. The problem we have chosen is the shift *ã* > *u* in the accusative singular of stems ending in *-a*. The shift is well attested, and has received its place in Meriggi (1980a: 275-276). However, Meriggi limits himself to providing some examples of the change or alternation (this matter is left pending in Meriggi's account), without offering an explanation for it and without specifying the chronology: *ladã/ladu*; *prñnawã/prñnawu*; *kupã/kupu*; *ñtatã/ñtatu*; *θurttã/θurttu*; *cumazã/cumazu*; *cbatru*; *kahbu*. In this paper, we will start from a discussion of the bilingual (Greek-Lycian) inscription *TL* 25[1], from Tlos, and focus on the shift *ã* > *u* as observed in that inscription. We will try to account for the shift from a phonetic(-typological) point of view, and will then consider the chronology of the shift, in view of a chronological division of the Lycian epigraphic materials.

2. *TL* 25 is a votive inscription on two *tukedri* (monuments or effigies[2]), fashioned by a Greek craftsman (Θεόδωρος Ἀθηναῖος ἐπόησε) and

[1] References are to KALINKA (1901) (= *TL*), the standard edition of the Lycian inscriptions known at that time. For additional materials, see NEUMANN (1979 = *N*) and BRYCE (1986: 43-44). KALINKA's transcriptions have been adapted to the conventions now in use (e.g., his *c* and *k* have been replaced with *k* and *χ*, respectively).
Fragmentary (and restored) passages are indicated by a question mark (*?*).

[2] *tukedri* could perhaps be translated as "corporeal representation"; this *i*-stem is probably a *tar*-derivation from **tuk(k)a-* (Cuneiform Hittite *tu(e)kka-* "body, person"); cf. NEUMANN (1961: 56). Of the two *tukedri* little has been conserved (see KALINKA 1901: 24-25).

dedicated, according to the Greek[3] part of the inscription, to Apollo[4]. The inscription, dated from the last decades of the 4th[5] century, offers the following Lycian text:

> *ebeis: tukedris: m[ẽ ne]*[6]*/ tuwetẽ: χssbezẽ: krup[sseh]/tideimi: se purihime[teh]/ tuhes: tlãñna: atru: ehb[i]/ se ladu: ehbi: tikeukẽprẽ/ pillẽñni: urtaqijahñ: kbatru/ se prijenubehñ: tuhesñ*
>
> "As these statues, *Xssbezẽ*, the son of *Krupssi-* and nephew of *Purihimeti*, a man from Tlos, put himself, and his wife *Tikeukẽpre*, from Pinara, daughter of *Urtaqija-* and niece of *Prijenube-*."
>
> Πόρπαξ Θρύψιος Πυριβάτους ἀδελφιδοῦς Τλωεὺς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴγ γυναῖκα Τισευσέμβραν ἐκ Πινάρων Ὀρτακία θυγατέρ<α> Πριανόβα ἀδελφιδῆν Ἀπόλλωνι.

The Lycian text offers no particular problems from the grammatical point of view. Forms with an accusative plural in *-s* (*-is*/*-as* < **-ns*) such as *ebeis*[7] are attested elsewhere (see Meriggi 1980b: 237), and the preterital form *tuwetẽ* can be linked with Luwian *tuwa-* (cf. Laroche 1959: 100). The onomastic material is more troublesome, and the occasional divergence between the Lycian and Greek names (see, e.g., *Xssbezẽ* // Πόρπαξ) may be due to two independent naming traditions[8]. The most interesting feature of the inscription is the consistent use of *-u* as the acc. sg.

[3] The Lycian text has no corresponding dedication. According to BENNDORF (quoted in KALINKA 1901: 25), the last line, containing the word Ἀπόλλωνι seems to have been added. It is interesting to note that Apollo's name is never found in the Lycian texts, and probably there was a corresponding Lycian epithet for this god (see note 4). In addition, one should note the fact that the Greek and Lycian parts of the bilingual inscriptions very often do not exactly correspond, which may be due to the fact that different functions were associated with the two parts of the bilingual texts.

[4] On the cult of Apollo in Lycia, see BRYCE (1983: 11; 1986: 182-184, 187-188) and LEBRUN (1987: 244, 255 n. 6). It is still unclear whether one of the epithets in the Lycian texts should be linked with Apollo. It could be that *Natri* is the corresponding epichoric name of Apollo (see *N* 320: *Natrbbijẽmi* = Ἀπολλόδοτος); the Persian god Mithra (Lycian *Miθr-*/*Mizr-*) was also equated with Apollo, and the three elements occur in proper names (cf. SCHMITT 1982a: numbers 17 and 18; 1982b: 381-382).

[5] See KALINKA (1901: *TL* 25) and also FRIEDRICH (1932: 58), HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 90), as well as IMBERT (1894: 450-458; 1893: 235-238). This dating is approximate and very vague.

[6] For the restitution, see IMBERT (1895: 212).

[7] Rather than interpreting *ebeis* as containing *ebe* (Luwian *apa*) + *is* (see LAROCHE 1960: 181-182), we prefer to analyse the ending *-is* as a development from **ebens* (this development would parallel the one found in **tubinti* > *tubeiti*, **anti* > *aiti*). For the latter development (Nasal + Obstruent → (vowel) + *i* + Obstruent), see PEDERSEN (1954: 81-82), HEUBECK (1981: 172-173, 1982: 107-110) and MORPURGO DAVIES (1983: 252-253). See also note 9, below.

[8] With respect to *TL* 25, see HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 105) and BRYCE (1986: 165 n. 83).

ending of stems in *-a*: *atru*, *ladu*, *kbatru*. This ending, parallel to the *-ñ* ending of consonant stems and to the *ẽ*/(*i*) of *-e*/*i* stems[9], is a variant of *ã*, which can be interpreted as [ãn] or [ã]. The notation *-u* seems to imply a velarization of the vowel, maybe with loss of nasalization (although it seems safer to assume, on phonetic grounds, an underlying realization [ɔ̃] or [õ]). This velarization is well known[10], but has hardly been accounted for. In our view, the velarization is due to the lowering of the uvula and of the adjacent area of the velum, which can either provoke a lowering of the vowel (see, e.g., the historical shifts in French from ĩ to ɛ̃, and from õ to ɔ̃), or a posterior realization of the vowel. The latter case is illustrated in the tendency to pronounce the French vowel ã as õ or ɔ̃, in some varieties of French[11], and it seems that the Lycian notation *-u* for *-ã* reflects a similar shift, resulting in a velarized vowel (probably with a nasal quality).

The Lycian epigraphic material reflects a variation between *-ã* and *-u*, which calls for a systematic investigation. We will start from a discussion of the forms in *TL* 25, and will then extend the analysis, while taking into account the geographical[12] and chronological[13] distribution of the phenomenon.

2.1. For the forms *atru* and *ladu*, we find in other inscriptions *atrã* and *ladã* with the same grammatical function (in *TL* 25 the corresponding

[9] In what follows we will limit ourselves to a discussion of the *-a* stems; for the distinction between *-i* and *-e* stems, see MERIGGI (1979: 263-264) and HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 54). On the accusative case endings in general, see MERIGGI (1928: 415-416; 1936: 260-264; 1980a: 276, 287, 289), NEUMANN (1963: 385), HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 53-54) and STARKE (1982: 408, 410-411). On *-(ij)a* stems, see MERIGGI (1928: 422-423, 441-442; 1980a: 277 §10), HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 53), and LAROCHE (1979: 86-87). We will not consider here the acc. sg. of consonant stems (mostly *-s* stems), on which see MERIGGI (1979: 264-268), nor the accusative of the genitive-relational adjectives (see LAROCHE 1960: 159-161 and MERIGGI 1980b: 219-220).

[10] See MERIGGI (1928: 421 n. 1; 1936: 260; 1980a: 276), HOUWINK TEN CATE (1961: 55), NEUMANN (1963: 375) and STARKE (1982: 410 n. 15).

[11] See, e.g., MARTINET – WALTER (1973: 37, 41, 45).

[12] We include within Western Lycia the sites of Tlos, Xanthos with the Letoon, Patara, and the villages west of the Xanthus (Kadyanda, Telmessos, Gülme, Pinara, Karmylessos). Southern Lycia comprises the following villages: Kandyba, Phellos, Antiphellos, Isinda, Timiusa, Kyana, Sura, Myra, Trysa, Tyssa, Tyberissos, Hoiran, Tehnelli, Seyret, Sidek Yayla, Simena, Çindam, Arneai, Çağman; in the Eastern part we have Limyra, Arykanda, and the villages of Rhodiapolis and Korydalla, east of the Limyros river. No Lycian inscriptions have been found in the northern mountain area, except for *N* 314, below 2.2. (c).

[13] For the dating of the inscriptions, we have often relied on BRYCE (1986: 45-50, 59-60), LAROCHE (1979: 54-56) and ZAHLE (1979: 320).

Greek forms are ἑαυτόν and γυναῖκα, respectively). The form *atrã* is attested in *TL* 44b 43 (Xanthos), dating from ca. 390. This noun shows a change *r* > *l*[14] in cases other than the accusative (*atli*, *atlahi*). As an older variant of *ladu* (also attested in *TL* 28, 4 Tlos; *TL* 91, 2 and 93, 2 Myra and *TL* 102, 1 Limyra), we find *ladã* only in the Southern and Eastern parts: *TL* 57, 7 (?) Antiphellos/ *TL* 75, 3 — 76, 1 Tyberissos/ *TL* 84, 3 Sura (4th cent.)/ *TL* 88, 3 — 90, 4 — 94, 1 Myra/ *TL* 101, 2 — 106, 3 — 131, 1 — 145, 2 (?) Limyra/ *N* 306, 2 Çağman/ *N* 321, 3 Tehnelli (ca. 385-365). The only exception is the form *ladã* found in *TL* 32a, an early inscription (ca. 400-390) from Kadyanda. As to *kbatru*[15], this form is attested in *TL* 28, 2 (Tlos); the variant **kbatrã* is not attested.

2.2. An analogous variation is found with a number of other substantives, and in some cases we find only *-u* as the acc. sg. ending of a noun stem. We will start with the nouns denoting a tomb or a grave: *ñtata-*, *prñnawa-*, and *χupa-* (see Meriggi 1928: 430-432).

(a) *ñtatu* ~ *ñtatã*: the form *ñtatu* is found in *TL* 23, 1 Tlos (4th cent.), *TL* 29, 2 Tlos (after 330) and in *TL* 143, 2 + 4 Limyra (4th cent.); *ñtatã* is attested in *TL* 118, 1 (?) and 124, 7-8 Limyra, *TL* 150, 4 Rhodiapolis, *TL* 63, 2 (?) Isinda and, in Western Lycia, in *TL* 36, 5-6 Xanthos (ca. 380) and *TL* 6, 1 Karmylessos (4th cent.).

(b) *prñnawu* ~ *prñnawã*: The form *prñnawu* is attested four times, in 4th-century inscriptions (*TL* 38, 1 and 39, 1 Xanthos; *TL* 53, 1 Seyret; *TL* 56, 1 Antiphellos[16]). The form *prñnawã* is much more frequent, and is attested both in the South and the East (*TL* 86, 1 — 88, 1 — 91, 1 — 92, 1 — 94, 1 Myra; *TL* 84, 1 Sura, 4th cent.; *TL* 77, 1 Çindam, 5th cent.; *TL* 73 Kyana; *TL* 66, 1 — 67, 1 Timiusa, ca. 380-360; *TL* 64, 1 Isinda, ca. 390-350; *TL* 61, 1 Phellos, ca. 390-350; *TL* 149, 1 Rhodiapolis, 4th cent.; *N* 306, 1 [?] Çağman), and in the West, especially in older inscriptions (*TL* 36, 1 Xanthos, ca. 380; *TL* 40a b2 Xanthos, 370-350; *TL* 41, 1 [?] Xanthos; *TL* 43, 1 Xanthos, before 390; *TL* 44a 14 Xanthos, ca.

[14] For other examples of the shift, see Πίναρα ~ *Pinale*, *pabla-* ~ *pabra-* (*TL* 89, 4; 90, 5 Myra: *pablãti*; *TL* 44a 51 Xanthos: *pabrati*). The forms with *-r* seem to be restricted to Western Lycia.

[15] For the etymology of the word *kbatra-* "daughter", see LAROCHE (1967: 48) and MERIGGI (1980a: 262 §37 n. 2). For a survey of kinship terms in Lycian (including *tideimi* and *χahba*), see LAROCHE (1958: 186-193), GUSMANI (1962), CARRUBA (1969), BRYCE (1978: 217-219) and HAMP (1980). On the Anatolian word for "daughter", see STARKE (1988).

[16] The form found there is *prñnãwu*, with "hypernasalization".

390; *TL* 11, 1 Pinara, 370-350; *TL* 14, 1 — 15, 1 (?) — 19, 1 — 21, 4-5 Pinara; *TL* 9, 1 Gülme; *TL* 4, 1 Telmessos).
(c) *χupu* ~ *χupã*: Of both variants, *χupã* is the more frequent. In Limyra we find *χupã* in numerous inscriptions (*TL* 101, 1 — 103, 1 — 108, 1 ca. 380-360 — 109, 1 — 110, 1 — 111, 1 — 112, 1 [?] — 113, 1 [?] — 119, 1 — 120, 1 — 121 — 122 — 123, 1 — 134, 1 [?] — 136, 1 — 137, 1 — 138, 1 — [139, 1][17] — 140, 1 [?] — 142, 1 — 146, 1 [?] — 147, 1 [?]— *N* 316, 1 — *N* 317, 1) and *χupu* only in *TL* 105, 1, *TL* 124, 1-2 and *TL* 144, 1. In Myra, *χupã* is found in seven inscriptions (*TL* 85, 1 — 87, 1 — 89, 1 — 90, 1 — 93, 1 — 99, 2 — *N* 309a 1), and *χupu* only in one (*N* 308, 1). In Antiphellos we also find *χupã* (*TL* 58, 1 [?] — 59, 1 — 80, 1) and *χupu* (*TL* 57, 3 + 5). Elsewhere in the South, only *χupã* is found (*TL* 75, 1, Tyberissos; *TL* 70, 1 — 71, 1 [?] Kyana; *TL* 68, 1 Simena; *TL* 52, 1 Sidek Yayla; *N* 310, 1 [?] Phellos), with the exception of *N* 315, 1 (Seyret). In the West, *χupu* is found in *TL* 47, 1 (Xanthos), and *χupã* elsewhere (*TL* 37, 1-2 — *TL* 42, 2 — *TL* 48, 1 + 4 Xanthos; *TL* 12, 1 — 13, 1 — 16, 1 — 17, 1 — 18, 1 [?] — *N* 322, 1 Pinara; *TL* 7, 1 — 8, 1 Karmylessos; *TL* 1, 1 — 3, 1 Telmessos). The only inscription from Northern Lycia (*N* 314a 1 Kızılca, ca. 380-360) shows the form *χupã*.
The variation also shows up in other nouns:
(d) *kumazu* ~ *kumazã*[18] ("ἱερέα"): the form with *ã* is found in *TL* 26, 20 Tlos, and the one with *-u* in *N* 320, 9 Xanthos, both inscriptions dating from ca. 350.
(e) *θurttu* — *θurttã* "affiliate", "colleague")[19]: the first form is found in *TL* 29, 6 Tlos (after 330), the second in *TL* 44b 28 Xanthos (ca. 390).

In addition we have to mention the forms exclusively attested with the *-u* ending:
(f) *χahbu* ("grand-child"): *TL* 28, 4 Tlos and *TL* 78, 5 Tyssa.
(g) *asaχlazu* ("ἐπιμελητήν"): *N* 320, 5 Xanthos.
(h) *pijatu*: *TL* 57, 5 Antiphellos[20].

[17] In this inscription *χupa* is probably a scribal error for *χupã*, and *ebẽnẽ* for *ebẽñnẽ*; see Meriggi (1928: 415-416 n. 3). According to Neumann (1974: 114) we would be dealing with a denasalized acc. in *χupa*.

[18] For *kumaza-* (from *kummi(ja)/kummai-* "holy, pure" + *-aza*) see Neumann (1963: 380) and Laroche (1979: 98-100); for other nominal derivations (*kumehi*, *kumezi*); see Neumann (1963: 380), Laroche (1967: 57), and Meriggi (1979: 246, 253).

[19] On the semantics of this still obscure term, see Torp (1898: 10-11), Thomsen (1899: 61), Meriggi (1928: 435-436) and Houwink ten Cate (1961: 91).

[20] On this word, see Laroche (1973; 1979: 107), Bryce (1975: 37-39) and Neumann (1970: 58-59).

2.3. This picture must be completed with the variation shown by personal names (in *-a*), and with the shift *ã* > *u* in contexts other than the acc. sg. ending.
(I) With personal names, we mostly find the acc. sg. ending *-ã*: this is the ending found in the South and the East (*Zahãmã TL* 101, 2 Limyra; *Arttum̃parã TL* 104b 3 Limyra, ca. 370-360; *Hlã TL* 145, 2 Limyra; *Xatñmã N* 309a 2 Myra; *Hriχm̃mã TL* 90, 2 Myra; *Haχãnã TL* 94, 2 Myra; *Idã Maχzzã TL* 57, 7 [restored] Antiphellos). In the Xanthos inscriptions we find both *-ã* (*Milasãñtrã TL* 44a 45, ca. 390; *Kizzaprñnã TL* 44c 15; *Humrχχã TL* 44a 55) and *-u* (*N* 320, 4 + 10 and Laroche 1979: 117 l. 4, forms *Ijeru, Eseimiju, Maliju*)[21].
(II) The *ã* ~ *u* variation (or *ã* > *u* shift) is also found outside the morphological context of the acc. sg. ending. It is interesting to note, however, that it is never found in the 3rd pers. pl. present[22] of *-a* verbs: it seems that [ã] or [ãn] was well preserved before *-ti* (see, e.g., *qã(ñ)ti, tãti*). Word-internally, the shift or variation is found in two nouns:
(a) *aχãti* ~ *aχuti*[23]: the first form is found in *TL* 128, 1 Limyra (first half of the 4th cent.), *TL* 92, 2 Myra and *TL* 30, 2 Tlos, whereas the second form is attested in *TL* 29, 3 Tlos (after 330) and *TL* 23, 4 (?) Tlos.
(b) *mahãi* ~ *mãhãi* ~ *muhãi*: this word, related to Luwian *maššana-* (Laroche 1967: 54), is first attested as *mahãi* (*TL* 44b 47 Xanthos), and seems to have developed to *mãhãi* (with "hypernasalization"), and then[24] to *muhãi*. The form *mãhãi* is rather frequent (*TL* 57, 8 — 58, 5 [?] Antiphellos; *TL* 88, 6 — *N* 309c 3 Myra; *TL* 101, 4 — 139, 4 — *N* 317, 4 Limyra; *N* 304, 11 [?] Sura; *N* 306, 3 Çağman, and perhaps in the joint to *TL* 45[25]); *muhãi* is found in *TL* 26, 9 Tlos (ca. 350), in *TL* 59, 3 Antiphellos and *TL* 93, 3 Myra.

It is interesting to note that in both cases the shift *ã* > *u* (the latter sound being found in the more recent inscriptions) can be attributed, at least in part, to the phonetic context: the presence of a velar consonant

[21] Greek corresponding forms: Μελήσανδρον; Τισσαφέρνην; Ἄμοργον; Ἱέρωνα; Σιμίαν (only the latter two occur with the corresponding Lycian names in the same inscription). *Maliju* is the acc. sg. of the epichoric name for Athena.

[22] Much less frequent are the 3rd pers. plural pret. in *-ãte* and the 3rd plural imperative in *-ãtu*.

[23] MERIGGI (1979: 262) and CARRUBA (1977: 311) interpret the form as a *-nt* formation from *aχa-* "to lead". For a divergent interpretation, see GUSMANI (1960: 509-510).

[24] On the "hypernasalization", see NEUMANN (1963: 377). It is not clear whether *muhãi* developed from *mãhãi* or directly from *mahãi* (in the latter case one can assume velarization *a* > oral (!) *u* in the first syllable).

[25] See LAROCHE (1979: 117 l. 11; restoration to *m[ãhãi)*, and BOUSQUET (1986).

(*χ*) or a bilabial nasal (*m*). The phonetic context can thus have caused a non-spontaneous change *ã* > *u*.

3. The material gathered here calls for a comprehensive study. As to the geographical distribution, we note that *ã* and *u* are found in the West, in the South and in the East. Tlos and Xanthos offer various forms with -*u*, but these are found in texts which are more recent. This then gives us a clue to a better understanding of the *ã* > *u* shift. As a matter of fact, the inscriptions can be roughly divided into three groups: those showing only *ã* forms, others showing only *u* forms, and a third class showing both *ã* and *u* forms (but not for the same word). On the basis of other evidence (e.g., archaeological and palaeographical), some inscriptions can be dated; it appears that the *ã* forms are typical of the older inscriptions, and the *u* forms of the more recent ones. The shift *ã* ~ *u* is attested in inscriptions which can be assumed to have a chronologically intermediate position. Using the criterion of the -*ã* /-*u* notation — a criterion which in view of the frequency of acc. sg. forms of -*a* stems is an interesting classificatory parameter —, we will try to propose a chronological repartition of the Lycian inscriptions, using the above parameter in conjunction with another one, viz. the sign denoting *ẽ*[26].

(I) In the following inscriptions (all dated) we find exclusively *ã* forms[27]:

> *TL* 11, 1 Pinara, ca. 370-350 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 32a Kadyanda, ca. 400-390 (*ladã*); *TL* 35, 14 + 16 Kadyanda, 4th cent. (*parttalã*); *TL* 36, 1 + 5 + 6 Xanthos, ca. 380 (*prñnawã*, *ñtatã*, twice); *TL* 40a b2 Xanthos, ca. 360 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 43, 1 Xanthos, ca. 400-390 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 44 Xanthos, ca. 390 (a1 [*sttalã*][28], a14 *prñnawã*, a38-39 *tupelijã*, a45 *milasãñtrã*, a52 *ijãnã*, a55 *humrχχã*, b28 *θurttã*, b37 *χñtawatã*, b43 *atrã*, b44 *θrm̃mã*, b45 *wawã*, b47 *mahãi*, b61 *qlã*, c10 *azzalã*, c12 *qlã*, c15 *kizzaprñnã*); *TL* 61, 1 Phellos, ca. 390-350 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 64, 1 Isinda, ca. 390-360 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 67, 1 Timiusa, ca. 370-360 (*prñnawã*); *TL* 77, 1 Çindam, 5th cent. (*prñnawã*); *TL* 84, 1 + 3 + 4 + 5 Sura, 4th cent. (*prñnawã*, *hãtã*, *ladã*, *hrm̃mã*); *TL* 103, 1 Limyra, ca. 380-360 (*χupã*); *TL* 104b 3 Limyra, ca. 370-360 (*arttum̃parã*); *TL* 128, 1 + 3 Limyra, first half of the 4th cent. (*aχãti.ara*[*wã*]); *TL* 135, 2 Limyra, ca. 370-360 (*arawã*); *TL* 149, 1 + 3 +

[26] For the chronological differentiation of the *ẽ* signs, see LAROCHE (1979: 55), BRYCE (1976; 1986: 59-60). The older form (Ƴ) is found till ca. 360-350, the younger (Ƴ) from around 350.

[27] Some of the forms are of difficult interpretation.

[28] For the restoration, see LAROCHE (1974: 145).

4 + 9 + 10 + 13 Rhodiapolis, 4th cent. (*prñnawã, aχãtaza*[29], *wãtã, wawã, χawã, hrm̃mã*); *N* 310, 1 Phellos, 5th cent. (*χup*[*ã*]); *N* 314, 1 Kızılca, ca. 380-360 (*χupã*); *N* 321, 3 Tehnelli, ca. 385-365 (*ladã*).

All these inscriptions date from before 360; on the basis of the shape of the letter *ẽ* we can date *TL* 149 and *TL* 84 to before 360-350. As to the word *parttalã* in *TL* 35, it is not clear whether we have here an acc. sg.; moreover, the last letter of the word was not very legible at the time of the decipherment (1898), and in the meantime the inscription has been lost[30]. It seems, on the basis of the forms for *ã* and *χ*, that the inscription should be dated after 380. The inscriptions *TL* 40 and *N* 314, in which the more recent shape for *ẽ* occurs[31], should also be dated around 360.

The occurrence of the older shape of *ẽ*[32] allows us to date before 360 a number of hitherto undated inscriptions in which only *ã*-forms are found. In the following inscriptions more than one *ã*-form is attested:

TL 21, 4-5 Pinara (*prñnawã*, twice); *TL* 48, 1 + 4 Xanthos (*χupã*, twice); *TL* 52, 1 + 2 Sidek Yayla (*χupã, wãtã*); *TL* 75, 1 + 3 Tyberissos (*χupã, ladã*); *TL* 88, 1 + 3 + 6 Myra (*prñnawã, ladã, mãhãi*); *TL* 89, 1 + 3 Myra (*χupã, χttbã*); *TL* 90, 1 + 2 + 4 Myra (*χupã, hriχm̃mã, ladã, χttbã*); *TL* 92, 1 + 2 Myra (*prñnawã, aχãti*); *TL* 94, 1 + 2 Myra (*prñnawã, ladã, haχãnã*); *TL* 101, 1 + 2 + 4 Limyra (*χupã, zahãmã, ladã, mãhãi*); *TL* 139, 1 + 4 Limyra (*χupã* — see note 17, *mãhãi*); *N* 306, 1 + 2 + 3 Çağman (*prñnaw*[*ã*], *ladã, mãhãi*); *N* 309 Myra (a1 *χupã*, a2 *χatm̃mã*, c3 *mãhãi*); *N* 317, 1 + 4 Limyra (*χupã, mãhãi*)[33].

To this list we can add the inscriptions showing only one example of *ã* (and none of the variant *u*), in which we find the older form of *ẽ*:

TL 1, 1 Telmessos (*χupã*); *TL* 3, 1 Telmessos (*χupã*); *TL* 9, 1 Gülme (*prñnawã*); *TL* 16, 1 Pinara (*χupã*); *TL* 17, 1 Pinara (*χupã*); *TL* 19, 1 Pinara (*prñnawã*); *TL* 37, 1-2 Xanthos (*χupã*); *TL* 42, 3 Xanthos (*χupã*); *TL* 66, 1

[29] The form *aχãtaza* is generally regarded as a derivation (with *-aza* suffix) of *aχãti*. Note that this case does not involve an acc. sg. ending.

[30] See KALINKA (1901: 32) and LAROCHE (1979: 56 n. 6). LAROCHE dates *TL* 35 to the third century (see also IMBERT 1900: 249-250), but this view is doubtful: *pttule* (interpreted by LAROCHE as referring to Ptolemy) cannot be restored to an expected **pttulemaja* or sim. Moreover, the leaders (called "*χñtawata*") figuring in the dating formulae are always local rulers who functioned as substitutes for the Persian kings and who resided in a Lycian or Anatolian town. For the third century we have only Greek inscriptions from Lycia. BRYCE (1986: 49-50) also expresses doubts about the dating proposed by LAROCHE.

[31] See LAROCHE (1979: 55).

[32] Or, in the absence of *ẽ*, of the letters *p* and *ã* (this is the case for *TL* 21).

[33] In *TL* 88 and *N* 317, the *ẽ* is largely identical with *ã*, a feature typical of the period around 360 (LAROCHE 1979: 55). *N* 317 shows three forms for *p*, but has the older form for *k*. On the palaeography of *N* 317, see NEUMANN (1979: 41).

Timiusa (*prñnawã*); *TL* 68, 1 Simena (*χupã*); *TL* 70, 1 Kyana (*χupã*); *TL* 73 Kyana (*prñnawã*); *TL* 80, 1 Antiphellos (*χupã*); *TL* 85, 1 Myra (*χupã*); *TL* 86, 1 Myra (*prñnawã*); *TL* 106, 3 Limyra (*ladã*); *TL* 108, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 109, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 110, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 111, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 119, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 120, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 121, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 122, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 123, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 131, 1 Limyra (*ladã*); *TL* 136, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 137, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 138, 1 Limyra (*χupã*); *TL* 142, 1 Limyra ([*χ*]*upã*); *TL* 150, 4 Rhodiapolis (*ñtatã*); *N* 316 Limyra (*χupã*); *N* 322, 1 Pinara (*χupã*).

The presence of the older form of *ẽ* allows us to propose a restoration with *ã* (and not with *u*) in the following cases: *TL* 71, 1 Kyana (*χu*[*pã*]); *TL* 112, 1 Limyra (*χu*[*pã*]); *TL* 113, 1 Limyra (*χup*[*ã*]); *TL* 118, 1 Limyra (*ñtat*[*ã*]); *TL* 134, 1 Limyra (*χup*[*ã*]); *TL* 140, 1 Limyra (*χup*[*ã*]); *TL* 146, 1 Limyra (*χu*[*pã*]); *TL* 147, 1 Limyra (*χup*[*ã*]); *N* 310, 1 Phellos (*χu*[*pã*])[34].

The more recent shape for *ẽ* is found in *TL* 4, 1 Telmessos (*prñnawã*), in *TL* 6, 1 Karmylessos (*ñtatã*), in *TL* 8, 1 Karmylessos (*χupã*), in *TL* 12, 1 and 13, 1 Pinara (*χupã*), in *TL* 14, 1 Pinara (*prñnawã*), in *TL* 58, 1+ 5 Antiphellos (*χup*[*ã*], *m*[*ã*]*h*[*ãi*]), in *TL* 87, 1 Myra (*χup*[*ã*]), and in *TL* 99, 1 Limyra (*χupã*)[35]. In view of the evidence for the chronology of *ẽ*-forms, these inscriptions can possibly be dated around 360-350.

In the inscriptions *TL* 15, 1 Pinara (*prñnaw*[ ]), *TL* 18, 1 Pinara (*χup*[ ]), *TL* 41, 1 Xanthos (*prñnaw*[ ]), and *TL* 145, 1 + 2 Limyra ([*χup*], *hl*[*ã*], *lad*[ ]), we find the more recent form of *ẽ* (Ƴ), so that a date after 360 should be proposed. In view of our conclusions (see below), we could then restore a form with *u* as well, in conformity with the syntactic context.

(II) We now have to consider the inscriptions where *u* occurs, either in alternation with *ã* or as the exclusive variant. In total, 24 inscriptions are involved, and in eight (or nine) of them we find the alternation *u* ~ *ã*. Of these, two (or three) inscriptions can be dated with some precision.

(1) *TL* 26 Tlos: *wawã* (l. 18), *kumazã* (l. 20) vs. *muhãi* (l. 9). This text is dated on archaeological grounds to around 350; note that we find here

[34] The date of *TL* 7, 1 Karmylessos (a fragmentary inscription containing the form *χupã*) and of *TL* 63, 2 Isinda (*ñta*[*tã*]) remains uncertain; *TL* 76 Tyberissos (which contains the form *ladã*) shows the old and the new forms of *ẽ* (as does *TL* 111).

[35] The presumably "forgotten" inscription from Telmessos published by NEUMANN (1985: 243-247) is in fact *TL* 4, found by BEAUFORT and thought to be Carian; for details see KALINKA (1901: 16).

the older form of *ẽ*, and also more archaic shapes for *p* and *k* (cf. Kalinka 1901: 25). The shift *ã* > *u* is attested not in the acc. sg., but rather word-internally.
(2) *N* 320 Xanthos: *Ijeru* (l. 4), *asaχlazu* (l. 5), *kumazu* (l. 9), *eseimiju* (l. 10) vs. *arawã* (l. 12), *zã* (l. 14-15), *arã* (l. 27). This trilingual inscription dates from 358 (Dupont-Sommer 1979: 165-166) or 337 (Badian, for references, see Laroche 1979: 55 n. 3 bis, Dupont-Sommer 1979: 165-166, Eichner 1983: 52, and Bryce 1986: 48-49). This inscription also shows archaic characters (Laroche 1979: pl. XIV).
(3) If one accepts Laroche's restoration *m[ãhãi]* in l. 11 of the Xanthos fragment belonging to *TL* 45, we have here an inscription with *ã* ~ *u* alternation (compare *Maliju* in l. 4). The text, which shows an archaic orthography, can be dated to the same period as the trilingual *N* 320[36].

One should take into account the fact that the three inscriptions have an official character: they are either *leges sacrae* (*TL* 26, *N* 320) or decrees (*TL* 45). This could account for the maintenance of the archaic shapes of some letters (especially *ẽ*), in combination with an incipient notation of the *ã* > *u* shift. The notation of *ã* can then itself be seen as an archaism, especially if one adopts a more recent date for *N* 320 (and *TL* 45).

In six other inscriptions we find the alternation between *ã* and *u*:
(4) *TL* 57 Antiphellos: *χupu* (l. 3), *pijatu*, *χupu* (l. 5) vs. *i[dã m]aχzzã la[dã* (l. 7) and *mãhãi* (l. 8).
(5) *TL* 59 Antiphellos: *χupã* (l. 1) vs. *muhãi* (l. 3).
(4) and (5) have the older shape for *ẽ*.
(6) *TL* 91 Myra: *ladu* (l. 2) vs. *prñnawã* (l. 1) and *zu[m̃]mã* (l. 3).
(7) *TL* 93 Myra: *ladu* (l. 2), *muhãi* (l. 3) vs. *χupã* (l. 1).
(8) *TL* 102, 1 Limyra: *ladu* vs. *χupã*.
(9 *TL* 124 Limyra: *χupu* (ll. 1-2) vs. *ñtatã* (ll. 7-8).
In these four texts we find the younger form of *ẽ*.

We have exclusively *u*-forms in conjunction with the more recent shapes of the *ẽ*-character in the following inscriptions:
(a) more than one form in *-u*: *TL* 23 Tlos (*ñtatu* 1, *aχ[u]ti* 3), *TL* 25 Tlos (*atru* 4, *ladu* 5, *kbatru* 6), *TL* 28 Tlos (*kbatru* 2, *ladu χahb[u]* 4), *TL* 29 Tlos (*ñtatu* 2, *aχuti* 3, *θurttu* 6), *TL* 143 Limyra (*ñtatu* 2 + 4)[37];

[36] See LAROCHE (1979: 117 and pl. XV) and METZGER (1979: 41-42).
[37] Of these, *TL* 29 and *TL* 25 may date from ca. 330.

(b) only one form in *-u*: *TL* 38 Xanthos (*prñnawu* 1), *TL* 56 Antiphellos (*prñnawu* 1), *N* 308 Myra (*χupu* 1)[38] and *N* 315 Seyret (*χupu* 1)[39].

In a few inscriptions we have a *u*-form (acc. sg.) cooccurring with the older orthography for *ẽ*: *TL* 39, 1 Xanthos (*prñnawu*), *TL* 47, 1 Xanthos (*χupu*), *TL* 53, 1 Seyret (*prñnawu*), *TL* 78, 5 Tyssa (*χahbu*), *TL* 105, 1 Limyra (*χupu*) and *TL* 144, 1 Limyra (*χupu*). These inscriptions, together with *TL* 57 and *TL* 59, can be assigned to a transitional period, in which archaic letter shapes were maintained along with the notation of a sound shift (*ã* > *u*).

4. Although no definitive conclusions can be reached with respect to the dating of the Lycian (A)[40] inscriptions, it seems that the *ã* > *u* shift reflects a change in progress in Lycian. Using the criteria for external dating (especially on palaeographical grounds), the *ã* > *u* shift allows us to offer a more precise chronology of the Lycian corpus. In the inscriptions dating from before 360 we find only *ã* forms. From 340-330 on, only *u* forms are attested[41]. The period 360-330 is a transitional one, marked by a vacillation between *ã* and *u*, which should be seen in the light of (1) the diffusion of the phonetic shift in progress, and (2) the conflict between a more conservative

[38] In view of the *-u* form and the shape of the *ẽ*-character, LAROCHE's dating (1979: 56) has to be preferred to the early dating of NEUMANN (1979: 21). A lower date seems also implied by the attested (phonotactic) shift *mẽ ne prñnawatẽ* > *ma na prñnawatẽ*, which corresponds to the notation of sentence-sandhi phenomena (*eCa* > *aCa*, and *e # n* > *ẽ # n*); see RASMUSSEN (1985: 227).

[39] According to the dating formula the inscription belongs to the period 390-360; in view of the *u* and the shape of *ẽ*, a date around 360 should be proposed.

[40] We have excluded Lycian B (Milyan) from our study. The inscriptions in Lycian B, reputed to be older in general (viz. beginning of the 4th cent.), show indeed a number of "archaic" features; on the other hand, a *-u* form is attested in *TL* 44d 50 (*pasbu*) as an acc. sg., next to *pasbã* (four times). Lycian B differs however from Lycian A in showing early denasalization: see, e.g., *masaiz* (nom. or acc. pl.) in *TL* 44d 14 and *TL* 55, 5. It seems safer not to establish evolutionary links between Lycian B and Lycian A, and to treat them as independent dialects.

[41] From the time of Alexander on, Lycian was supplanted by Greek. In general, the Lycian material reflecting a Greek source is interesting in that it shows a velar quality of *ã/a* + nasal, as can be gathered from the forms *ijãnã* and *ijãnisñ* (*TL* 44a 32 and b 27, Xanthos, ca. 390; compare b 2 and [?] b 22), corresponding to Ἴωνες, from *manaχine* (*TL* 40a and b 1 Xanthos, around 360) corresponding to μονογενής (NEUMANN 1974: 110-111) and from the proper names *Hm̃prãma* (= Ἔμβρομος; ZGUSTA 1964: §332) and *Ekatamla* (= Ἑκατόμνας *TL* 32e + n; *TL* 45, 1- 2; *N* 320, 2). To this, one can add *Arñna*, the Lycian name for Xanthos (= Aramaic *'wrn*). If one follows NEUMANN (1974: 109-110), one can add Lycian *am̃m̃ãma/ãm̃m̃ãma* (*TL* 102, 3 — 131, 4 — 134, 4 [?], all from Limyra; *TL* 111, 3 + 4 Limyra and *TL* 149, 9 Rhodiapolis), corresponding to Greek ἄμωμος (for a different view, see CARRUBA 1974: 581).

notation and a more phonetically oriented notation. It goes without saying that further work remains to be done, both on aspects of palaeography and on issues of phonetics and morphology, but the data examined here support the tentative chronology outlined in Figure 1.

[P.S. Since this article was written (November 1989), the inscriptions from the Letoon at Xanthos, mentioned in note 1 (Bryce 1986: 43-44), have been published in *Fouilles de Xanthos* IX, 1 (Paris 1992), pp. 149-199. In these inscriptions only a few instances of acc. sg. occur: p. 172, 1 *[stta]lã*, p. 183, 3.9 *atrã* and *Erbbinã* (PN); both texts have the older shape of *ẽ* and should be dated to the first half of the 4th century. On p. 192, 3 (a fragmentary context) *wawu* occurs; this text does not contain an instance of the *ẽ* sign.]

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Before 360 (*ã*)				**360- (330) (*ã / u*)**					**340-330 (*u*)**
5th c.	**400-390**		**380-360**						
TL 77	*TL* 32a	*TL* 43	*TL* 11	*TL* 35	*TL* 4	*TL* 15	*TL* 26	*TL* 91	*TL* 23
N 310	*TL* 44		*TL* 36	*TL* 40	*TL* 6	*TL* 18	*TL* 39	*TL* 93	*TL* 25
			TL 61	*N* 314	*TL* 8	*TL* 41	*TL* 47	*TL* 102	*TL* 28
			TL 64	*N* 317	*TL* 12	*TL* 58	*TL* 53	*TL* 124	*TL* 29
			TL 67	*TL* 88	*TL* 13	*TL* 145	*TL* 78	(*N* 320)	*TL* 38
			TL 84	*TL* 76	*TL* 14		*TL* 105	(*TL* 45)	*TL* 56
			TL 103	*TL* 111	*TL* 87		*TL* 144		*TL* 143
			TL 104	*N* 320	*TL* 99				*N* 308
			TL 128	*TL* 45					
			TL 135	*TL* 57					
			TL 149	*TL* 59					
			N 321	*N* 315					

Before 360

TL 1 *TL* 3 *TL* 9 *TL* 16 *TL* 17 *TL* 19 *TL* 21 *TL* 37
TL 42 *TL* 48 *TL* 52 *TL* 66 *TL* 68 *TL* 70 *TL* 71
TL 73 *TL* 75 *TL* 80 *TL* 85 *TL* 86 *TL* 89 *TL* 90
TL 92 *TL* 94 *TL* 101 *TL* 106 *TL* 108 *TL* 109
TL 110 *TL* 112 *TL* 113 *TL* 118 *TL* 119 *TL* 120
TL 121 *TL* 122 *TL* 123 *TL* 131 *TL* 134 *TL* 136
TL 137 *TL* 138 *TL* 139 *TL* 140 *TL* 142 *TL* 146
TL 147 *TL* 150 *N* 306 *N* 309 *N* 316 *N* 322

Figure 1.



HITTITE *andurza* "INSIDE, INDOORS" AND THE INDO-HITTITE HYPOTHESIS

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Hittite attests an adverbial form *andurza* with the basic meaning "inside; indoors". It is often found opposed in ritual texts to *aškāz* (ablative of *aška-* "gate") "out of the gate, outdoors" (see Puhvel [1984: *s.v.*] for citations); it also occurs in treaties with reference to rebellions in the meaning "in the interior, internally", and is therein opposed to *araḫza* (an old ablative of *arḫa-* "limit, boundary") "from the outside", which refers to attacks (*ibid.*). As Puhvel notes, a form *andurza* presupposes a base **andur-*, which is suggested also by the derivative adjective *anduriya-* "situated within". This presumed base, however, is unattested as such in Hittite.

The internal segmentation of this presumed form **andur-* and consequently its etymology have both been much discussed and much disputed in the literature (for references and discussion, see Friedrich – Kammenhuber [1977: *s.v.*], Tischler [1978: *s.v.*], and Puhvel [1984: *s.v.*]). Although at present there seems to be little to go on to decide the question of the root etymology[1], two reasonable possibilities have emerged[2].

One hypothesis that has attracted considerable support derives **andur-* from some form of the Indo-European **dhwor-* "door" (so Sturtevant [early in his writings], Hamp, Kronasser, Tischler, and others), and thus posits an etymological segmentation of **en-dhwor-*, though there is some disagreement as to the exact vowel grade of the prefix and the root that would allow for the Hittite vocalism. The

[1] See, however, the discussion below (and footnotes 3 and 6) concerning the ablatival origin of *-za* and what it might mean for the etymology of *andurza*.

[2] The suggestions of JASANOFF (1972: 125) that "the adverb *andurza* is almost certainly derived from an unattested **andur* [which] if not simply a petrified noun meaning 'interior' may well contain the same enlargement **-r* which elsewhere in Indo-European makes locative adverbs" are no less plausible, in my view, but seem not to have attracted much attention. I ignore here the suggestion of GEORGIEV (1962: 35) connecting *andurza* with a Etruscan *atrs/atrus*, in the light of the arguments provided by PFIFFIG (1962) against this proposal — and others — made by GEORGIEV; for example, it is generally accepted that *atrus* is possessive of a gentilicium *atru* that is well-attested from north Etruria.

alternative hypothesis treats **andur-* as related to Latin *inter*, Sanskrit *antár*, etc., from an Indo-European stem (adverbial or otherwise) **enter-* (so Couvreur, Sturtevant [later in his writings], and Puhvel), and, as with **en-dhwor-*, there is no agreement as to the vowel grades involved in the derivation of the Hittite vocalism.

There is one point, however, on which there is unanimity in the literature on *andurza*, namely the status of the suffix *-za*. Most investigators (e.g. Sturtevant, Hamp, Tischler, Friedrich, Laroche, *inter alios*) are in agreement that *-za* is the Hittite ablatival ending, once believed to be from **-ts* (zero-grade of **-tos* seen in Sanskrit *ta-tas* "from that, then", etc.) but better (so Jasanoff 1972) taken from **-ti* (as the comparison with the Luvian oblique *-(a)ti* and the Lycian *-adi*/*-edi* would indicate). Even Jasanoff (1972: 124-5), who treats *andurza* as created from an earlier locatival form, talks about the addition of *-za* in forms parallel to *andurza* as the "creation of an ablative... [with]... an ablative particle that appears... as *-z(a)* in Hittite". Moreover, the frequent occurrence noted above of *andurza* with the clear ablatives *aškāz* and *araḫza* provides some support for taking this adverb too to be in origin an ablative[3].

One minor problem exists, however, with the analysis of *andurza* as an ablative: there is no obvious ablatival meaning evident in this form — it has the purely illative or inessive meaning of "inside, indoors, in the interior", not a purely ablatival sense such as *"from the outside in" or *"from within". Admittedly, this fact may not be too problematic, for two reasons, though in each case some doubts remain, opening the door for the consideration of other sources of the *-za* of *andurza*.

First, as Laroche (1970: 38) has pointed out, Hittite has examples of etymological ablatives taking on "une valeur positionnelle proche du locatif", e.g. *tapušza* "alongside of"[4], making it possible to posit such a development for *andurza*. However, a general shift of ablatival meaning to locative meaning seems not to have occurred in Hittite[5], for the (pre-

[3] An ablatival source for *-za*, if accepted (but see below), might be taken to decide the question of the root etymology of **andur-* in favor of the analysis with the nominal root **dhwor-* inasmuch as one would not expect an ablatival ending to have occurred originally on a non-nominal stem such as **enter-* (whatever the ablaut grade). See also footnotes 6 and 11 for some further relevant discussion.

[4] Note also that an adverbial *tapuša* "sideways, aside" occurs as well in Hittite, presumably an old directive case form. The occurrence of such a case form used adverbially strengthens the conclusion that *tapušza* is an etymological case form, i.e. an ablative.

[5] A shift of ablative to locative meaning may not be all that unnatural, since, as Hans Henrich HOCK has reminded me, Sanskrit *tatas* etymologically was ablatival in nature, meaning literally "from that (place)", but came to be used in a simple locative sense, as "there".

sumably) primary function of a distinct ablative case (indicating "place-from-which")[6] is present in all stages of the language. Thus, the ablative-to-locative shift must pertain to the development of individual lexical items and the existence of parallels for such a shift, while interesting and potentially significant, does not in itself provide unassailable support for positing this change for any particular lexical item, e.g. the form in question here, *andurza*.

Second, the evidence of the adverbial *kitkar* "at the head (of)" with its variant *kitkarza* suggests that an endlingless locative, the most likely source of *-kar*[7], could be remade with a *-za* that was "adverbial" without being necessarily ablatival. While remodeling of *andurza* cannot be excluded, such a process would have to have taken place at a fairly early date, in the pre-Hittite period, since no fluctuation with a presumed **andur* is attested (as it is, for example, with *kitkar/kitkarza*). At such a stage, it cannot be excluded that *-za* had still a fully ablatival force in general, as indeed it does in most occurrences in attested Hittite, excepting cases such as *kitkarza*[8], thereby making the absence of ablatival meaning from *andurza* more problematic. Thus while the remodeling account is certainly viable, it is not without a few questionable aspects.

Given the preceding discussion, it would seem desirable to at least consider other possibilities for the origin of *-za* in *andurza*, and accordingly, another hypothesis is advanced here. Moreover, it turns out that

[6] MELCHERT (1977) argues for a perlative ("through...") sense for the Hittite ablative as well, as Andrew GARRETT has pointed out to me, so that *andurza* could be derived from a perlative ablative, i.e. roughly "in through the door". A perlative origin for *andurza* would be possible, however, only if a form of **dhwor-* "door" were involved; this etymology, though, as noted above (see footnote 3), while certainly a strong possibility, is not undisputed. Moreover, as with any derivation of *andurza* from "door", it is not obvious that a root-noun in combination with a prefix could serve as a stem to which a true ablatival case-ending could be added appropriately. In particular, while Vedic *pra-div-* "forward heaven" shows that a prefix-plus-root noun combination is possible in Indo-European, perlative semantics for the source of *andurza* would require that the relative semantic scope of the prefix and the case-suffix be "[in [through-door]]". The inflectional case-suffix, however, would presumably be the last element attached in the derivation of a preform such as **en-dhwor-ti*, being added onto the stem created by the prefix-plus-root noun combination. Assuming that scope correlates with order of attachment, though, that order of attachment would yield a semantic interpretation of "[through [in-door]]", which would not be appropriate as a source for the ultimate meaning "indoors".

7 See NUSSBAUM (1986: *passim*, but especially 96ff.) for detailed discussion of Hittite *-kar* and related formations elsewhere.

[8] Interestingly, both JASANOFF (1972: 126) and NUSSBAUM (1986: 96) refer to *kitkarza* as reflecting an ablatival form, suggesting that in their view, the addition of *-za* was not merely a formal reshaping of *kitkar* based on, for instance, *araḫza*, but rather involved some ablatival force to the *-za*.

this hypothesis has potentially important implications for the matter of the relationship of Hittite with the other Indo-European languages.

In particular, instead of being the synchronically productive ablatival ending for Hittite, the *-za* that occurs in *andurza* could simply represent *-s added onto a stem with final *-r*. From a phonological standpoint, there is reason to believe that this combination of *-r* plus *-s* would be expected to yield, as its regular outcome, graphic <-r-za>, a sequence which presumably is to be interpreted phonetically as [-rts] with an epenthetic *t* having developed between the liquid and the sibilant. The parallel for this development, showing it to be the regular outcome, comes from the nominative <ḫa-aš-te-ir-za> "star", which derives from the Indo-European *r*-stem noun (continued directly, for example, in Greek ἀστήρ) but with an innovative sigmatic nominative. The relevant pre-form for *ḫašterza* is thus *H_2ster-s, with the *-rs* sequence developing into <-r-za> ([-rts]), as also, possibly, in *andurza*.

Admittedly, *ḫašterza* does not provide an exact phonological parallel for *andurza*, since the adverb, under the analysis proposed here, has an old *-rs* sequence of Proto-Indo-European age whereas the noun has a more recently created secondary *-rs* that would thus post-date the sequence posited for *andurza*. Moreover, it is clear from examples such as *karšmi* "I cut off" from *kers-mi and *arra-* "arse" from *orso- that original *-rs- was maintained before a consonant and yielded *-rr-* before a vowel. Nonetheless, the *rs posited for *andurza* is in word-final position, so that neither *arra-* nor *karš-* is probative counterevidence to the development posited here, and, given that there appear to be no cases of word-final original *-rs to work from, the parallel with *ḫašterza* is certainly suggestive. It can be noted as well that other sequences of sonorant with *s show suggestive parallels: secondary *-n-s in final position seems also to have developed an epenthetic *-t-*, as shown by *šumanz(a)* "cord" from *su(H_1)-men-s[9], and alternants such as *pirzaḫḫanaš* for *piršaḫḫanaš* "belonging to fief-service" (Friedrich [1961: 21; 1966: 26]) suggest a tendency within Hittite to epenthesize in clusters of sonorant plus *s*.

Besides the phonological plausibility of *-s in *andurza*, positing a final *-s in *andurza* is quite reasonable from a morphological standpoint too. This element can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European as a marker that occurs on adverbials, with a clear function in one set of

[9] Word-internal *-ns-, though, yields *-šš-* when the sequence is original (e.g. *ḫaššu-* "king" from *H_2ensu-) and *-nz-* when secondary (e.g. *anzaš* "us" from *n̥sos).

forms but otherwise associated with a variety of adverbial types. The clearly identifiable use of **-s* comes in the formation of multiplicative adverbs of the lower numerals: **dwi-s* "twice", based on a comparison of Sanskrit *dvis*, Greek δίς, Old Latin *duis* (later *bis*), and Middle High German *zwir*, **tri-s* "thrice", based on Sanskrit *tris*, Greek τρίς, Latin *ter*, and Old Norse *þris(-var)*, and **kʷetwr̥-s* "four times", based on Sanskrit *catur* (from **caturs*), Avestan *čaθruš*, and Latin *quater*.

The other evidence for adverbial **-s* for the proto-language comes from one word-equation and a handful of forms scattered around the various individual languages. The comparison of Greek χθές "yesterday" with Sanskrit *hyás* "yesterday" permits the reconstruction of a PIE adverbial **ĝʰðyes* which, following Schindler (1977: 34), can be segmented into "the zero-grade of an adverb or a deictic particle [*ĝʰ-] plus a case form of the word for 'day' [*dyes] which would also appear in Ved. *sa-dyás* 'within one day'"[10]; given, though, that "a different case form is found in Ved. *a-dyá* 'today' < **e-dyé*" (*ibid.*), the most likely analysis of **dyes* would be **dye-s*, that is with **-s* as an added adverbial suffix.

Other traces of this **-s* are to be found throughout the Indo-European family, mostly in relic forms which do not, however, allow a clear picture of the function and distribution of this suffix to emerge. Some examples showing this **-s* include Latin *us-que* "all the way (to/from)" (from **ut-s-*), *cis* "on this side" (based on the deictic stem **k̂i-*), and Sanskrit *avás* "downwards" (cf. *áva* "down; off"), as well as, presumably, Greek adverbials with a final -ς, often occurring as variants of asigmatic forms, e.g. μέχρις "as far as; until" (variant of μέχρι), λικριφίς "cross-wise, sideways" (-φις a variant of -φι), ἐγγύς "near" (cf. stem ἐγγυ- in ἐγγύ-θεν "from near at hand", ἐγγυ-τέρω "nearer", etc.), among others (see Meillet – Vendryes [1948²: §§781, 785] and Brugmann [1904: §584] for some further examples and discussion).

The existence of such a morpheme in Indo-European, therefore, is beyond question. Moreover, some conclusions about adverbial **-s*, however, are possible, even if a full understanding of its use awaits further investigation[11]. Most manifestations of adverbial **-s* that can be seen in

[10] In the formulation given in SCHINDLER (1977) of the relevant morphophonemic rules, the occurrence of a dental stop immediately after a guttural would yield the Proto-Indo-European spirant often referred to as "thorn", the voiced variety of which (here symbolized as *ð* [edh]) occurs after the voiced stop; *hyas* shows the effects of an Indo-Iranian reduction of the initial cluster to **ĝʰy-*, seen also in *śyená-* "hawk".

[11] It is tempting to see in this adverbial **-s* the same morpheme that occurs as a genitive/ablative ending in some apparently archaic nominal inflection in Indo-European, e.g. relic forms such as Hittite *nekuz*, from **nekʷt-s*, in the phrase *nekuz meḫur* "time of

the forms cited above seem to have no systematic functional status other than that of generally marking adverbials, whereas in one group of forms — the multiplicatives — this suffix has an identifiable function. Thus, the most likely interpretation of this occurrence of one productive use versus scattered relics with no unified function is that the multiplicative use of *-*s* is an innovative specialization of a once more general adverbial marker.

Overall, then, especially with *ḫašterza* to guarantee that the phonological development required to derive *andurza* from a formation with adverbial *-*s* is unproblematic, this adverbial *-*s* must be considered to be a strong possibility as a source of the *-za* in *andurza*. Such a source, unlike the *communis opinio* cited above, requires no additional assumptions within Hittite about the loss of ablatival meaning or about shifts in meaning for ablatival forms.

If *andurza* is thus to be reconstructed as something like **endhur-s* (or **entr̥-s*) with the PIE adverbial *-*s*, then we have a situation in which both Hittite and the rest of Indo-European show traces of an unproductive and apparently archaic element in word-formation. While noteworthy, such a situation says nothing about the relationship between Hittite and the other languages. With regard to the one productive use of this *-*s*, however, several interesting possibilities emerge.

It is clear, from the evidence of **dwis* etc. cited above, that the Indo-European languages other than Hittite jointly show adverbial *-*s* productively in the formation of multiplicative adverbs. In Hittite, however, the multiplicative adverbs involve a suffix *-anki* (*1-anki*, *5-anki*, etc., cf. Friedrich [1960: 72]) which is clearly unrelated to the *-*s* of **dwis* etc. Interestingly, though, there is another numeral formation in *-iš*, e.g. *2-iš*, *3-iš*, and *4-iš*, but also *10-iš*, *15-iš*, *20-iš*, *30-iš*, and higher (Friedrich [1952: 304], which some scholars see as multiplicative adverbs (e.g. Laroche [1947: 205], but the identification of which Friedrich (1960: 73) labels as "unsicher".

evening", or Vedic *dan*, from **dem-s*, in the phrase *patir dan* "master of the house". If this identification is made then (as noted in footnote 3 for a different ablatival element) perhaps the derivation of *andurza* from **dhwor-* "door" gains some plausibility; however, the occurrence of *-*s* on clear nonnominal stems throughout the various languages (e.g. Sanskrit *avás* noted above) means that this consideration cannot be given too much weight. One would have to reckon, of course, with a loss of genitival/ablatival meaning for this *-*s* relatively early on, even though such a development would not be unreasonable, given the archaic nature of *-*s* in nominal inflection; it would have to have passed out of productive nominal use early in Indo-European and so would not be expected necessarily to have retained any ablatival sense.

These forms, together with *andurza* under the analysis given here, therefore, present a crux for the Indo-Hittite hypothesis, the claim that the Anatolian languages constitute a sister branch to a single branch of the language family which gave rise to the rest of the languages (Greek, Indo-Iranian, Germanic, etc.)[12]. If the Hittite numeral forms in *-iš* are not multiplicatives and thus not related to the multiplicative use of adverbial **-s* elsewhere, and if, as has been assumed here, the original function of **-s* was to mark adverbs and its use in **dwis*, **tris*, and **kʷetwr̥s* is an innovative specialization of this morpheme, then there would be a productive late Indo-European suffix which is rare (or nonexistent) in Hittite and more generally, it could be said that Hittite would not have taken part in an innovation shared by a significant subset of the other branches. Such a situation, as Oettinger (1986: 6) has pointed out[13], is consistent with — and expected under — the Indo-Hittite hypothesis.

If, however, the Hittite forms in *-iš* are multiplicatives, then they must surely be connected in some way with the formative seen in **dwis*, **tris*, etc., presumably through the extraction of **-is* out of **dwis* and **tris* followed by its extension to other higher numerals (giving, e.g., *10-iš*, *15-iš*, *20-iš*, etc.). In that case, Hittite and at least several of the other Indo-European languages share a common innovation, a situation which would be unexpected, again as noted by Oettinger (1986: 6), under the Indo-Hittite hypothesis[14]. The fact that, to judge from the higher forms such as *10-iš* and *20-iš*, Hittite took this innovation one step further and created a new morpheme with a higher degree of productivity would be a matter internal to the historical morphology of Hittite and would have no bearing on the validity of the Indo-Hittite model.

[12] A review of the considerable literature on this subject is not possible here, but it is significant — when one considers who the scholar being memorialized in the present volume is — to note that one of the more recent discussions of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis is the piece by Charles CARTER himself, published posthumously in 1988. See also TISCHLER (1988), in which the Indo-Hittite question is recast into a question of relative chronology of various innovations characterizing early, middle, and late Indo-European.

[13] Although OETTINGER gave this situation as one of four that would point to Indo-Hittite, the caveat I voiced in JOSEPH (1988), namely that the absence of the productive morpheme could itself be the result of an Anatolian innovative replacement, still holds; see, though, the discussion that follows.

[14] A feature shared by Hittite and the rest of the languages could of course represent an element of Indo-Hittite age, i.e. an inherited feature in each putative branch of Indo-Hittite. However, contrary to such a view, the productivity of the **-s* multiplicatives vis-à-vis the scattered remains in other functions suggests instead a more recent (that is, "late" Indo-European) origin for the multiplicative, presumably, then, in a truly Indo-European (*cum*-Hittite) stage without needing recourse to a construct such as Indo-Hittite.

In either case, *andurza* is relevant to the assessment of the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. If the analysis proposed here for *andurza* is correct, and if *2-iš* etc. are not multiplicatives, then it is difficult to argue that Hittite innovated away from the proto-language (and thus the other languages) by simply replacing all uses of adverbial **-s* (admittedly in different ways, but significantly with *-anki* in multiplicatives), a claim that would vitiate the value of the situation for supporting the Indo-Hittite hypothesis (see footnote 13); rather, the suggestion would have to be that the suffix was present in the language and that Hittite broke off from the others before the innovative creation of **dwis*, etc. If, however, *2-iš* etc. are multiplicatives, then the presence of the unproductive use of **-s* in *andurza* would suggest that Hittite was indeed also involved in the specialization of more general adverbial **-s* to multiplicative marking, contrary to the Indo-Hittite hypothesis; given a trace of **-s* in *andurza*, for instance, it is less likely that Hittite could have borrowed the *-iš* suffix.

A lot, therefore, hinges on the precise status of the *-iš* numeral forms. Although the exact determination of their status is uncertain and awaits a full reevaluation, there is one suggestive piece of evidence favoring the identification of these forms as multiplicatives. In particular, a form *3-kiš* is also attested (Friedrich [1960: 73]), presumably for *3-ankiš*[15], and thus apparently via a blend of the endings *-anki* and *-iš*. If *3-kiš* does come from such a blend, then it can be assumed that *-iš* and *-anki* shared a common function, for otherwise a conflation of the two suffixes would be unlikely to have arisen. In that case, therefore, the blend would indicate that *-iš* indeed is a multiplicative marker, and the conclusion that then follows is that the evidence of *andurza* and the *-iš* forms taken together runs counter to the predictions of the Indo-Hittite.

To be sure, there are several points in this presentation that are far from conclusive, as certain aspects of its evaluation, for instance, must wait until more is known about the various manifestations of the element **-s*. Still, it seems that at the very least, the evidence of *andurza* and the multiplicative adverbs will have to be considered in future discussions of Indo-European and Indo-Hittite[16].

[15] It is unlikely that *-iš* in *3-iš* (etc.), everywhere it occurs, merely stands for *-ankiš*, though in any case, one would undoubtedly have to have recourse to something like Indo-European adverbial **-s* to explain the occurrence of [-s] in *3-kiš*. Clearly, as the discussion below indicates as well, a reevaluation of these numeral forms in *-iš* is needed.

[16] I would like to take this opportunity to thank Craig MELCHERT and Rex WALLACE for extremely useful comments on an earlier version of this paper which helped to shape my understanding of some key points. Also, the audience at the 1990-91 Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America — most notably Andrew GARRETT, Mark HALE, and

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HITTITE *ariya-* "CONSULT AN ORACLE"?

Sara E. KIMBALL

Hittite *ariya-*, a verb usually translated as "consult an oracle", or "determine by oracle", was first compared by Pedersen (Götze-Pedersen 1934: 47-48) to Latin *ōrō*, *ōrāre* "speak, entreat" and *ōrăculum* "solemn utterance, oracle". Others[1] have attempted to extend the comparison to include Greek ἀρά, ἀράομαι "prayer, pray", Sanskrit *āryati* "praises" and Russian *orat'* "to bawl", but these comparisons run into difficulties phonologically, syntactically, and semantically.

Ariya- is found at least 50 times in texts from the Middle Hittite period and later[2]. The verb apparently existed in Old Hittite as well, since the stem *ari(ya)-* is found in the derived noun *ariešešša* (for *ari(ya)šeššar* "divination") in KBo III 60 I 9, a Neo-Hittite copy of an Old Hittite original. *Ariya-* apparently never has plene writing of its root vowel, which should indicate that the root *ar-* had the zero-grade[3]. Compare the development of *$h_3$éry-e/o- in *ḫāriya-* "bury"[4]. Attempts to compare *ariya-* with *ōrō* or with any of the other verbs using the laryngeal theory run into phonological obstacles, because there is good evidence that both *h_2 and *h_3 remained before the reflex of *r̥. For example, a root from which ἀρά and *ōrō* were derived could have begun with *h_2 (i.e. *h_2r̥-weh$_2$- > ἀρά and *h_2ōr-eh$_2$- > *ōrā-* (cf. Oettinger 1979: 345), but *h_2r̥k̂- becomes *ḫark-* in *ḫartagga-* "bear" < *h_2r̥k̂to- (cf. Skt. *r̥kṣaḥ*, Gk. ἄρκτος, and Lat. *ursa*). Similarly, Latin *ōrā-* can be from *h_3ōr-eh$_2$-, but initial *h_3 remains in Hittite *ḫarganu-* "sole" < *h_3r̥ĝ-nu- (cf. Gk. ὀρέγω "I stretch out")[5].

Perhaps the root did not have an initial laryngeal. *A*-vocalism sometimes occurred in IE verbs having to do with speaking or making noise (cf., e.g. Lat. *clangō* "resound", ON *hlakka* "to scream", Greek κλαγγή

[1] References are provided by TISCHLER (1977: 56-57) and PUHVEL (1984: 138).

[2] Examples can be found in FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER (1975: 290-295) and PUHVEL (1984: 136-138). A stem in *-ā(i)-*, *arā(i)-* is also found, but it is rare and *ariya-* is clearly the older.

[3] For *r̥C > *ărC* without plene writing, see KIMBALL (1986: 83-91).

[4] cf. *h_3r̥w- in Homeric οὐροί "trenches" < *ὀρϝοί (B153) and *$h_3$rug^h- in ὀρύσσω "dig".

[5] See MELCHERT (1987: 21-22 and 1994: 72).

"a scream", and ἔκλαγον "clash, scream" < IE **klang-*, **klag-*), and *ariya-*, ἀρά and perhaps *āryati* and *orat'* could be from a root with *a*-vocalism. However, there is little convincing evidence for *$\bar{a}$: *$\bar{o}$ ablaut in Indo-European roots without internal *h_2 (i.e. *eh_2: *oh_2)[6], which would make it difficult to include *ōrō* and *ōrāculum*, the words which, on the face of it, would furnish the closest match with *ariya-* semantically.

But a close examination of how *ariya-* is used shows that the semantic match with *ōrō* is an illusion. While the standard etymology assumes that the basic or original meaning was something like "speak in a solemn or religious fashion", the texts do not provide clear evidence that *ariya-* had anything at all to do with speaking. The translations implied by this etymology, "consult an oracle" and "determine by oracle", also obscure the syntax of *ariya-*: when it is used transitively, its object is the item or matter about which the oracle is being consulted, never the oracle or diviner.

The abstract *ariyašeššar* occurs in a vocabulary text, KBo I 42 IV 5, glossing the Akkadian word *bīru* "divination". According to the CAD, *bīru* can include such types of divination as extiscipy and augury. None of the citations for *bīru*, however, includes any clear reference to speech or prophecy.

Cicero, who can be called upon upon as a witness from a culture that practiced divination, makes a distinction (*De Divinatione* I.VI.12) between divination that is natural — that is signs from the gods in the form of natural phenomena, dreams, or divine inspiration in frenzy — and divination that employs art. The latter included various techniques such as augury, extiscipy, and the casting of lots[7]. The Hittites paid considerable attention to both kinds of divination. On occasion, the gods might reveal their will in a dream or through natural phenomena[8], but often their will was not obvious, and it had to be investigated using what Cicero would have considered artificial means. Often *ariya-* is described in the texts as being done by means of a god or gods (inst.), for example:

[6] See BEEKES (1972: 117-131).

[7] I.VI.12: "There are two kinds of divination: the first is dependent on art, the other on nature. Now — to mention those almost entirely dependent on art — what nation or what state disregards the prophecies of soothsayers, or of interpreters of prodigies and lightnings, or of augurs, or of astrologers or of oracles, or — to mention the two kinds which are classed as natural means of divination — the forewarnings of dreams or of frenzy?" (trans. FALCONER 1923: 234-235); cf. also *ibid.* I.XXXIII.72.

[8] See KAMMENHUBER (1976: 32). The Storm God's thunderbolt in the third year of the Annals of Mursilis (KBo III 4 II 15-19) is a good example of a natural omen.

KUB XV 31 II 8: *āpiyaš-ma uttar* DINGIR^{MEŠ}*-it kiššan ariyawen*
"But in the matter of the pits we *a*-ed with the gods".

or

KUB XXIII 79 Rs 11: *nu kī* [S]ISKUR.SISKUR [*IŠTU*] DINGIR^{LIM} *arḫa ariyanzi*
"And this ritual they *a* with a god".

Sometimes, however, the texts are more explicit. The Hittites used a number of techniques for divination, many of which are familiar from, for example, the Greeks and Romans. These included extiscipy, casting lots, augury, and observing the behavior of animals[9]. Occasionally, it is possible to connect *ariya-* with a particular method of divination specified in the text. For example, *ariya-* is used when the methods are extiscipy and augury in KBo IV 4 II 54:

IŠTU MUŠEN$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$ *IŠTU* SU^{MEŠ}*-ya ammuk peran ariyanun*
"I *a*-ed for you with birds and flesh".

Is it possible that *ariya-* refers to an utterance that was part of a ritual that used an artifical method of divination? There is every reason to believe that the Hittites did use formulaic utterances as part of such rituals, since the texts preserve requests for definitive results, often in stereotypical form, as in KUB XXII 70 Vs. 4-5[10]:

DINGIR^{LIM}-za-kan ŠÀ É.DINGIR^{LIM}-KA (5) *kuitki* TUKU.TUKU-*wanza nu* KUŠ^{MEŠ} *nu* NU.SIG$_5$-*du*
"Are you, oh God, somehow angered in your temple? (If yes) let the flesh-signs be unfavorable".

There are also passages that show the augur, the ^{MUNUS}*ŠU.GI*, or other specialist in charge of interpreting omens reporting results verbally. One such passage is KUB XLIX 62 L. 5:

UM.MA $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$MUŠEN.DU NU.SIG$_5$-*war[-at]*
"The augurs (said): 'they (the birds) were unfavorable'".

KUB XXX 10 Vs. 26-7 also suggests the verbal reporting of results:

[9] Discussions of techniques used by the Hittites can be found especially in KAMMENHUBER (1976: 9-13), ARCHI (1978: 279-293), and FRANTZ-SZABÓ (1995: 2009-2011 and 2013-2017). Other discussions include those of ARCHI (1974: 113-144) (KIN or lot oracles) and (1977: 119-180) (augury), BERMAN (1982: 125) (animal behavior), LAROCHE (1952: 19-48), BIN NUN (1979: 118-127) (review of KAMMENHUBER 1976), and ÜNAL (1973: 29-30) (augury).

[10] For the ways in which oracle questions were posed see ÜNAL (1973: 33-34) (bird oracles), ARCHI (1974: 118-120) (lot oracles), and FRANTZ-SZABÓ (1995: 2015-2016).

[nu-mu wašdu]l-mit tēddu ne-za-an ganiešmi našma-mu MUNUSENSI *mēmau* (27) *[našma-m]u* DUTU LÚAZU *IŠTU* UZUNÍG.GIG *mēmau*
"Tell me my sin that I may recognize it, or let the woman interpreter of dreams tell me, or let the Sun God's seer tell me from a liver".

In KUB VI 3 L. 6ff. *ariyašešăr* "divination" is used with *mēma-* "speak" and probably refers to the verbal reporting of results obtained through divination:

DINGIR*LIM* TI-*tar kuedani iliešni uškeši* (7) *karū-šši kuēš* MUḪI.A *ariyašeš-naza memanteš* (8) *apēdaš-aš* MUḪI.A-*aš parā* TI-*anza*
"Oh God, in which sign do you see life? However many years have already been reported for him by divination, that many years will he remain alive".

However, the texts provide absolutely no support for the idea that *ariya-* could refer either to a request for results or that it could mean anything like "utter an oracle" or "reveal in oracular fashion" when reporting results. In KUB XIV 10 IV 8-13, from the Plague Prayers of Mursilis, divination (*ariyašeššar*) appears to be explicitly contrasted with revelation from a priest (LÚDINGIR*LIM*):

[našma] mān tametaziya ku[(ezqa uddānaš)] (9) *[(akkišk)e]ttari n-aš-za-kan naš[(šu)]* (10) *[(tešḫi)]t uwallu našm-at ari[(yašešnaz)]* (11) *[(ḫanda)]ittaru našm-at* LÚDINGIR*LIM*-*nianza-ma* (12) *[(mem)]āu* ANA LÚ.MEŠSANGA *kuit* (13) *ḫūmandāš watarnaḫḫuun n-at-za šuppa [(šeš)]keškanzi*
"But if [the people] are dying for another reason, either let me see it in a dream or let it be established by divination or let a man of god proclaim it, or let all the priests find out by incubation whatever I suggest to them".

In at least one passage, KUB XV 31 II 6-12, it seems clear that the action envisioned in *ariya-* was not necessarily verbal. Unfortunately, the passage in which *ariya-* occurs has been somewhat garbled in transmission:

(6)... *nu* GIŠBANSURḪI.A *[šar]ā* (7) *karpanzi na-t āpiyaš pēdi pēdanzi* (8) *āpiyaš-ma uttar* DINGIRMEŠ-*it kiššan ariyawen* VII *āpi* (9) *kinuwanzi* NU.SIG$_5$ *nu* VIII *āpi-ma kinuanzi* SIG$_5$ (10) *nu* IX *āpi kinuanzi n-aš maḫḫan apiyaš pēdi* (11) *arnuanzi nu* DINGIRMEŠ *katta tienzi nu* IX *āpi kinuanzi* (12) *ḫūdāk-ma-za* GIŠAL *dāi nu paddāi...*
"And they lift the (sacrificial) tables and bring them to the location of the pits. But the matter of the pits we investigated with the gods as follows: they open pit 7; it is not favorable. Then they open pit 8; it is favorable, and then they open pit 9. And when they bring them to the location of the pits, they put the (figures of the) gods down and they open pit 9; but right away they take (up) the pickaxe and dig".

The text, edited by Haas and Wilhelm (1974), is an evocation ritual for various gods. Although KUB XV 31 and its duplicates KUB XV 32 and 1321/u were written down in the Neo-Hittite period[11], KUB XV 31 is also clearly a copy or reworking of older material[12]. *Ariyawen* is the only verb in the text in the first person and the only verb in the description of what is done in the ritual proper in the preterit. Haas and Wilhelm (1974: 177) explain the shift in person and tense by suggesting that Vs. 8 was lifted verbatim from divination texts, and they cite a number of passages from divination texts with *ariya-* in the first person plural, but they offer no explanation for why the passage might have been lifted. The text has an introductory section in which the preparations for the ritual are described in detail, but the ritual itself is actually a series of ceremonies, performed at various locations, during which statues of the gods are dragged about. The number nine is important in this text; sacrifices of birds, lambs, and bread are made and libations are poured at nine pits, nine springs, and nine rivers, as well as at other locations. The question of where to start seems not to have been a problem in the ceremonies performed at other locations. It looks as though the business with the pits, however, was something that had to be settled before the ritual could proceed. Since the ritual does contain Pre-Neo-Hittite material, it is possible that the ritual at the pits was broken off or for some other reason obscure on an older tablet, and divination had to be used to determine which pit to put the gods in first[13]. Unfortunately, the criterion for chosing a pit is not given, but it seems to have been something about the pit itself. What is significant is that *ariya-* seems to refer to the opening of the pit itself as a sort of divination[14].

In passages where *ariya-* is used transitively, its object (usually accusative, but sometimes ablative or dative) is the item, individual, event, or alternative course of action that is under investigation. Objects

[11] HAAS and WILHELM (1974: 141) describe the text as a copy made in the reign of Hattusili III or Tudhaliya IV.

[12] Not only does this text have the mix of archaic and Neo-Hittite forms that would be expected in a copy or a ritual that had been put together using earlier material, in Vs. I 11-12, following a description of equipment that is assembled in preparation for the ritual, it states that the preparations came from an older tablet: *nu-kan kī ḫandāwar karūiliyaz tuppiaz* (12) *ienzi* "And this preparation they make from an old tablet".

[13] Compare KUB XVII 24 II 9-13 below where divination is used to determine the appropriate place for a sacrifice.

[14] It looks, however, as though *nu* IX *āpi kinuanzi* in II 11 is the result of dittography, so KUB XV 31 itself was probably copied from a text in which the passage about choosing a pit appeared. But KUB XV 31 need not have been copied from the original old tablet; perhaps there was an intervening exemplar.

of *ariya-* include seers, the army, dreams, the sacrifice and the proper place to perform it, and disputed matters in general:

KBo XXII 61 I 17: $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$A.ZU-*ya ariyami*
"I will *a* the seers".

KUB XIII 20 Vs 23: *n-an arḫa* ^{D}UTU^{ŠI} *ariyami*
"I, his majesty, will *a* it (= the army)".

KUB XXII 69 II 5: *kuin* Ù-*an aušta* GAL $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$ḪAL *ariyat*
"The chief seer *a*-ed the dream that (the queen) saw".

KUB XVII 24 II 9-10: *nu-za BELTI* É^{TIM} *AŠRI*$^{ḪI.A}$ *ŠA* DINGIR^{LIM} *IŠTU* DINGIR^{LIM} *arḫa* (10) *ariyezzi*
"The mistress of the house *a*-s the places of the god with the god".

The syntax of *ariya-* becomes clear when we consider that divination was the Hittite's primary method of investigating matters whose cause or proper resolution was unknown. It was used to ascertain causes of problems or events or to confirm hypotheses about them (e.g. the cause of individual or epidemic illness)[15], to investigate disputed matters (e.g. to evaluate the testimony of witnesses)[16], and to choose between alternative courses of action (e.g. to determine the appropriate course of action in military campaigns[17], to choose a treatment for illness[18], to interpret dreams[19], or to determine the location or some other aspect of the sacrifice)[20]. A suitable translation for *ariya-* might then be "investigate using divination" or, since divination was the primary method of investigation, simply "investigate"[21].

[15] E.g. sickness of the king KBo II 2 I 29-49, KUB XXII 61 I 14-19 (see BURDE 1974:3-4), KUB XXII 70 Vs 1-3, MS Vs 13-15, KBo IV 6 Vs 24-27 (sickness of Gassuliyawa), KUB XIV 13 + (Plague Prayer).

[16] E.g. KUB XXII 70 (theft of offerings), KUB XL 80 and KUB XXIV 15 + KBo XVI 63 Vs. 11-15 (court procedure).

[17] E.g. KBo IV 4 II 50-54 (determination of whether an attack should be made), KUB VI (military campaigns), KUB XXII 25 Vs 19-21 (determination of whether the king should attack or celebrate a festival), KUB XIII 20 Vs 23 (determination of which troops should be released from duty).

[18] E.g. KBo XXII 61 I 14-19 (sickness of the king), KUB XXIII 79 Rs 10-12 (ritual to alleviate the plague).

[19] E.g. KUB XV 1 L. 12-14 (dream of the queen).

[20] KUB V 6 II 64, KUB XV 31 II 8, KUB XVII 1 I 24, KUB XVII 24 II 9-10; ÜNAL (1973: 29-30) lists reasons why bird-oracles were used.

[21] KAMMENHUBER (FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER (1975: 294) and (1976: 9) translates *arḫa ariya-* as "durch Orakel aus der Welt schaffen, durch Orakel beseitigen", but the phrase is used in contexts where this sense is unlikely (e.g. KUB XVII 24 II 10 where the mistress of the house is simply trying to find the right place to sacrifice). A more appropriate translation might be "dispose of questions about something or problems with something by using divination". BIN-NUN (1979: 119 w. n. 8) suggests that *arḫa ariya-* was the term for putting all possible questions to the oracle until a clear answer was obtained.

In a few passages, the object is a god[22], and it looks at first glance as though a translation "ask the god using divination" might be appropriate, but we have to consider the Hittite view of cause and effect. If an epidemic was raging in the land or if an individual was sick or crops had failed, it was because a god or gods had been offended. This is a point of view familiar from a number of well-known texts like the Vanishing God myths and the Plague Prayers of Mursilis. But, even if it could be assumed that a deity had been offended, it was not always clear which deity had been offended, how the deity had been offended, or what could be done to appease the angry deity. These too were matters that had to be investigated, and to investigate a cause was to try to find out which god was responsible.

The plague Prayers of Mursilis II provide well known examples of the use of divination to determine the cause of illness. KUB XIV 13 + KUB XXIII 124 Vs. I 47-55 describes the steps Mursilis and his father, Suppiluliuma, took to determine the cause of the plague[23]:

> *nu wet ABU-YA kuwapi INA* KUR ^{URU}*Mizri pa[it]* (48) *nu-kan IŠTU* UD-KAM ^{URU}*Mizri* BAD-*an* ŠÀ KUR [^{URU}*Ḫatti*] (49) *uktūri ēšta nu apet pa[ntalaz]* (50) KUR ^{URU}*Ḫatti akkiškettāri nu AB[U-YA]* (51) *arišket nu* $^{\text{LÚ.MEŠ}}$DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ} *ariyašešnaz* (52) *[Ù]L wemiyat* (53) *[a]mmuqq-šmaš ariškēnun* (54) *nu šumeš* DINGIR^{MEŠ} EN^{MEŠ}-*YA ariyašeššnaz* (55) *ammuqqa ÙL wemiyan[nu]n*
>
> "And it came to pass that when my father went to Egypt; from the time of the Egyptian expedition plague was endemic. From that time on, the land of Hatti kept on dying. And my father kept making inquiry; and he did not find (you) gods, my lords, in divination. And I myself kept making inquiry; and I myself did not find you, oh gods, my lords, in divination".

Since the gods were the causes of illness both on an epidemic and on an individual scale, we might understand KUB XIV 13 Vs. I 51-2 "He did not find the gods, my lords, in divination", and I 54-5 "And I myself did not find you gods, my lords, in divination", somewhat less literally — but no less accurately — as "And he/I did not find the cause in divination".

In a passage from the text on Mursilis's loss of speech, the cause that is investigated is also clearly a god[24]:

[22] E.g. KUB V 6 I 46 *nu-wa kuitman* DINGIR^{LIM} *ariyanzi* "until they have *a*-ed the deity", KUB XVI 77 II 38, 45 *nu* DINGIR^{MEŠ} *ariyazi* "He *a*-s the gods", and MS VS. 9-10 ^{D}U ^{URU}*Manuzziya-ma katta ariyanun* "I *a*-ed the Weather God of Manuzziya further".

[23] To the sources in LAROCHE (1971: 378) add LEBRUN (1980: 220-229).

[24] See GÖTZE – PEDERSEN (1934: 4-7).

> *nu-mu-kan zazḫi anda* ŠU DINGIR^{LIM} *āraš* KAxU-*iššа-mu-kan* (9) *tapūša pait nu ariyanun nu* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Manuzziya* (10) SIxSÁ-*at* ^{D}U ^{URU}*Manuzziya katta ariyanun* (11) *nu-šši* GUD *pūḫugariš piyauwanzi* (12) IZI-*it waḫnumanzi* MUŠEN$^{ḪI.A}$ *waḫnummanzi* SIxSÁ-*at* (13) GUD *pūḫugarin-ma ariyanun n-aš pedi-šši* (14) *INA* KUR ^{URU}*Kummanni INA* É DINGIR^{LIM} *piyauwanzi* (15) SIxSÁ-*at*
> "Then the hand of the god came to me in a dream and (speech) went to the side of my mouth; I investigated; and the Weather God of Manuzziya was determined. Then I investigated the Weather God of Manuzziya; and it was determined (for me) to give a substitute ox and to burn it with fire, and to burn birds; and I investigated the substitute ox and it was determined (for me) to give it to the place in the temple of the city of Kummanni".

The Weather God of Manuzziya was clearly established as the cause of Mursilis's illness, but ^{D}*U* ^{URU}*Manuzziya katta ariyanun* in line 20 does not mean "I consulted the Weather God of Manuzziya", but instead, "I investigated the Weather God of Manuzziya further (to determine what could be done to propitiate him)[25]". Compare GUD *pūḫugarin-ma ariyanun* in line 14, where the substitute ox is clearly not consulted, but investigated.

Additional confirmation for the basic meaning of *ariya-* as "investigate" comes from KUB XXII 70, a complicated text, edited by Ünal (1978), from the reign of Tudḫaliya IV. The text is about a series of somewhat confusing intrigues involving the Queen and other members of the court, and divination is used in it to settle disputed matters. Vs. 49-50 shows *ariya-* used in the sense "investigate":

> *Kī kwit namma* NU.SIG$_5$-*ta nu-kan waštanza kwit* ŠÀ É$^{NA_4 hekur}$ ^{D}KAL *āššan n-at ariyaweni* (50) *nu kwit* SIxSÁ-*tari nat ANA* DINGIR^{LIM} *pianzi*
> "Why is it, moreover, that (the signs) are (still) unfavorable? Is it because there is still some sin remaining in the sanctuary of the guardian god (^{D}LAMMA)? We will investigate it, and whatever is established they will give to the god".

Two passages are especially interesting, since they seem to show that divination could be used along side of other kinds of investigation:

> Vs. 31-2: *eniya kwit* ^{F}*Ammatallas IQBI punušuweni-ma nāwi mān memiaš ašanza mān maḫḫan* (32) *ANA* ÌR-*ma-kan anda ŪL appišker nu mān zilaš apēz kišat nu* KUŠ^{MEŠ} NU.SIG$_5$-*du* SAG.ME NU.S[IG$_5$]
> "And also that which Ammatallas has related we do not (have not) yet investigate(d) whether the evidence is true or how it is. It has not been investigated. (But) when a decision about it takes place, then let the flesh signs be unfavorable. The flesh signs are unfavorable".

and similarly Vs. 82-4:

[25] See FRIEDRICH – KAMMENHUBER (1975: 293) on *katta ariya-*.

kī-ma EGIR-*anda* [F]*Naruš* KAxU-*az kiššan IQBI* [M]U-*ba*-LÚ-*iš ANA* MUNUS.LUGAL *kiššan* (83) *memišket* UNUTE[MEŠ]-*wa kwēqa tepawa* DUMU.MUNUS.GAL *ANA* UNUTE[MEŠ] *menaḫḫanda iyat* (84) *nu-war-at ANA* DINGIR[LIM] [URU]*Arušna upiešta nu apūn memian punuššu[we]ni n-an katta a[riyanzi?]*
"But Naru said this afterwards with (her own) mouth: 'Uba-ziti said the following to the Queen: "These items that (are) diminished, the 'Great Daughter' exchanged them for (other) objects, and she sent them to the Goddess of Arusna"'. Now we will investigate this testimony and we (they?) will investigate it using divination".

Punušš- and *ariya-* seem to be complementary methods of investigation here: *ariya-* is "investigate using divination", while *punušš-* ("ask, question") is "investigate by interrogation"; compare Vs. 36-8 where the sense of *punušš-* is simply "interrogate"[26]:

AWAT [M]*Pallāya IQBI* MUNUS.LUGAL-*wa IQBI ANA* [M]*Pallā-wa kwit ammuk peškenun* (37) *nu-war-at-za* DINGIR[LIM] *šāk* [M]*Pallānna-wa-kan* EGIR-*an iyaḫḫut* [LÚ.MEŠ]*TAPPI*[ḪI.A] [M]*Pallā-ma punuššuwen* (38) *nu memir apūn-wa memian ŪL šekkweni*
"About the case of Palla, she said: 'What I, the Queen', (or 'what I, O Queen')[27] what I myself gave to Palla, know, O God, that you should make Palla responsible (lit. "go behind P.")[28]'. We have questioned Palla's friends and they said: 'We know nothing about this matter'".

Once it has been established that *ariya-* means "investigate using divination", we can consider alternative etymologies for it. One that suggests itself is that it can be compared with Homeric Greek ἐρέω, εἴρομαι "ask, interrogate", aor. inf. ἐρέσθαι[29] and its cognates Old Norse *raun* "investigation, attempt", denom. *reyna* "to attempt"[30].

Usually ἐρέω, εἴρομαι and its compounds mean "ask", "question", or "interrogate". Its object may be a person, as in the following:

δ 492 = λ 463 Ἀτρεΐδη, τί με ταῦτα διείρεαι;...
"Son of Atreus, why are you asking me this?"

[26] The complementary use of *ariya-* and *punušš-* is also noted by LAROCHE (1952: 28). Divination and interrogation are used in complementary fashion in other texts, e.g. KUB V 7, a text reporting the investigation of problems in various temples, KUB V 9, a text reporting the investigation of desecration in the queen's palace and a temple. In both texts sentences reporting the interrogation of various persons (e.g. KUB V 9 L. 11 [LÚ.MEŠ]É.GAL *punuššuwen* UMMA.SUNU.MA "We questioned the men of the palace as follows":) are interspersed with the results of divination.

[27] See ÜNAL (1978: 65 note c.).

[28] cf. ÜNAL (1978: 65).

[29] Not to be confused with εἴρω, εἴρομαι "speak, say" < **wreh₁*-!

[30] FRISK (1960: 467-468), CHANTRAINE (1970: 370).

γ 24 αἰδὼς δ'αὖ νέον ἄνδρα γεραίτερον ἐξερέεσθαι.
"It's shameful for a young man to interrogate an older one".

λ 229 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ βούλευον ὅπως ἐρέομαι ἑκάστον.
"But I was figuring out how I might interrogate each one".

The object of ἐρέω, εἴρομαι may also be a WH-clause, for example:

γ 79-80 Ὦ Νέστορ Νηληϊάδη, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν, (80) εἴρεαι ὁππόθεν εἰμέν·
"O Nestor, son of Neleus, great fame of the Achaians, you are asking where we have come from".

θ 133-4 Δεῦτε, φίλοι, τὸν ξεῖνον ἐρώμεθα εἴ τιν'ἄεθλον (134) οἶδε τε καὶ δεδάηκε·
"And now, friends, let's ask the stranger whether he knows any games or is trained in any".

In A 62 εἴρομαι means "consult an oracle" in the sense "question an oracle":

ἀλλ'ἄγε δή τινα μάντιν ἐρείομεν ἢ ἱερηά, (63) ἢ καὶ ὀνειροπόλον,
"But come, let's question some oracle, or a priest or interpreter of dreams".

At least once, in φ 31, where the object τάς refers to the missing mares that Iphitos is looking for when he meets Odysseus and gives him the famous bow, it means something closer to "seek" or "inquire after":

φ 22-31: Ἴφιτος αὖθ'ἵππους διζήμενος αἵ οἱ ὄλοντο (23) δώδεκα θήλειαι, ... (31) τὰς ἐρέων Ὀδυσῆϊ σωνήντετο, δῶκε δὲ τόζον, ...
"Iphitos was seeking his horses, those who had been lost... twelve mares; inquiring after them, he met Odysseus and gave him the bow".

The active present ἐρέω is found only in Homer and in two Hesychian glosses. One of the glosses, ἔρευε· ἐρεύνα, labled Aeolic, has an active thematic third person singular equivalent to the Homeric thematic present. The other, ἐρέων· μαντευσόμενος, ἐρωτήσων, has an active participle ἐρέων which looks like the participle found in φ 31. Interestingly, one of the words that glosses it, μαντευσόμενος, can be used in the sense "consult an oracle"[31], but since ἐρέων is glossed with future participles, and since it is identical to the future participle of εἴρω "speak, say", it looks as though the glossator has gotten his entry somewhat confused with εἴρω "speak". Such confusion may have been common in everyday speech. Although Attic uses ἐρήσομαι in the future and a thematic aorist ἠρόμην, it uses the related denominative ἐρωτάω

[31] e.g. Hdt. I 46, Eur. Ion. 346.

for the active present, and one reason for eliminating ἐρέω "ask" might well have been its partial homophony with εἴρω "speak".

The Homeric present forms appear to come from a disyllabic stem of a type described by Meillet (1910/11) as having an enlargement *-*eu*-. The *eu*-presents are still not very well understood, and the Indo-European languages attest a variety of formations. Thematic forms (e.g. Skt. *sravati*, "flows" and Gk. ῥέω "flow" or Skt. *jīvati* "lives", OCS *živǫ*, *živati*, "live", and Lat. *vīvō* "live") are fairly common, but the type seems originally to have been athematic, to judge from Vedic *tarute* "passes, crosses over" and Hittite *tarḫuzzi*, *taruḫzi* "conquers, prevails over" beside thematized Vedic *tūrvati* "overcomes"[32].

In most ways, the *-*eu*- or *-*u*-, which shows up in both the full-grade and in the zero-grade, behaves like an enlargment. In some languages, forms from the stem in *-*eu*- are found beside forms from the unenlarged root (e.g. Skt. *tarute*, *tūrvati* beside *tarate* "crosses over" or Hitt. *taruḫzi* beside *tarḫzi* and middle *tarratta* "is able")[33]. In other cases, they occur beside forms from a stem with another enlargement (e.g. Skt. *sarpati* "creeps", Gk. ἕρπω "creep" < **ser-p*- beside *sravati* and ῥέω < **sr-eu*-). Like an enlargement, the *-*eu*- appears in related substantives as well as in the verbs (e.g. **sreumn̥* "stream" in Gk. ῥεῦμα, O.Ir. *sruaim*, and ON *straumr* beside **sr-eu*- in *sravati*, and ῥέω, or $*g^{w}ih_{3}wos$ "alive" in Skt. *jīvaḥ* "alive" and Lat. *vīvus* id. beside $*g^{w}ih_{3}$-*u*- in Skt. *jīvati* "lives" and Lat. *vīvō* "I live").

In one very important respect, however, *-*eu*- behaves as though it were a suffix rather than an enlargement. As Meillet (1910/11: 243) pointed out, it seems originally to have been excluded from the aorist; aorists with it are clearly secondary and built from the present stem. In a number of cases, *-*eu*- is found in presents and causatives from roots which, when unenlarged, made root aorists. Therefore, a number of Indo-European languages show u-presents beside root aorists or their thematized descendants — just the sort of distribution expected for a present suffix[34]. What *-*eu*- looks like is an archaic suffix that had at least partially been reinterpreted as an enlargement by late Indo-European.

[32] See Jasanoff (1979: 88).

[33] For the relationship among the Hittite verbs see Oettinger (1979: 220-223).

[34] Meillet himself (1910/1911: 243) described it in terms more appropriate to a suffix than to an enlargement: "Il y a lieu de se demander si l'élargissement *-*eu*- n'aurait pas servi notamment à fournir des presents à des racines qui n'en pouvaient former à l'aide de leur racine seule".

The Homeric and Aeolic active present forms are from an earlier active athematic present[35]. The short vowel subjunctive with metrical lengthening ἐρείομεν in A 62 should point to a Common Greek athematic active present with a full-grade second syllable *ἔρευμι. The full-grade second syllable is also seen in the related Cretan noun ἐρευταί "tax collectors", "collectors of public funds", which should be based on the athematic present stem, and in the related words ἐρευνάω "search, seek after" and ἐρεείνω "ask, search after, examine".

The Homeric middle present forms εἴρεαι, (K 416, O 267, γ 80, ω 390, etc.), εἴρετο (A 513), εἴρεσθαι (δ 423, τ 95) and ptcp., e.g. ἐιρόμεναι (Z 239 etc.) are from a Common Greek middle with a zero-grade second syllable *ἔρϝομαι, and they show the Ionic compensatory lengthening of a vowel preceding a sequence of resonant plus *ϝ (*ἐρϝ- > εἰρ-). However, there are also middle forms that do not show compensatory lengthening, such as inf. ἐρέσθαι (γ 69, 243, ο 362, π 465), opt. ἔροιτο (α 135, γ 77), and subj. ἐρόμεθα (θ 133).

Wackernagel (1970: 121) explained the Homeric forms without compensatory lengthening as Atticisms, but they may have other explanations. The Homeric infinitive ἐρέσθαι is usually accented as an aorist, although there are variant readings[36]. In all but one of its attestations it clearly functions as an aorist, occurring with the aorist infinitive of μεταλλάω in the formula μεταλλῆσαι καὶ ἐρέσθαι "to ask and interrogate" (γ 69, 243, ο 362, π 465). These can be compared with variants with the two verbs in the present, for example:

Γ 177, η 243, ο 402, α 231= ο 390 ... ἀνείρεαι ἠδὲ μεταλλᾷς

ψ 99 ... ἀνείρεαι οὐδὲ μεταλλᾷς

ω 478 ... διείρεαι ἠδὲ μεταλλᾷς

A 550 ... ἕκαστα διείρεο μηδὲ μετάλλα

A 553 ... οὔτ' εἴρομαι οὔτε μεταλλῶ

Homeric ἐρέσθαι, of course, looks like the infinitive of the regular Attic aorist ἠρόμην. Since *eu*-presents can be formed from roots that make root aorists, we might expect a root aorist or thematized root aorist beside the Common Greek present *ἐρεύμι. The optative ἔροιτο and the subjunctive ἐρώμεθα could also, at least in formal terms, be aorists[37].

[35] See FRISK (1960: 467) and CHANTRAINE (1942: 297).

[36] See CHANTRAINE (1942: 394 w. refs.).

[37] SCHULZE (1982: 101) and WACKERNAGEL (1970: 121) correct ἀποιχομένοιο ἔροιτο in α 135 = γ 77 to ἀποιχομένοι' ἔροιτο.

The middle present ἐρέομαι is also probably not an Atticism, because Attic did not use the present. In all of its occurrences, the first two syllables of ἐρέομαι occur in the weak time, and technically at least, they can always be resolved to εἴρομαι. This can be done without difficulty in δ 119 = ω 238:

ἦ πρῶτ' { ἐξερέοιτο / ἐξείροιτο } ἕκαστά τε περήσαιτο

and η 17

... καὶ { ἐξερέοιθ' / ἐξείροιη' } ὅτις εἴη

Elsewhere, however, ἐρέομαι occurs at the end of the line and emmendation to εἴρομαι would result in a spondee in the fifth foot, a situation that is often avoided in hexameter:

α 416 ἐς μέγαρον καλέσασα θεοπρόπον ἐξερέηται
ζ 298 καὶ τότε Φαιήκων ἴμεν ἐς πόλιν ἠδ'ἐρέεσθαι
κ 63, 109 ... ἔκ τ' ἐρέοντο
ρ 509 ἐλθέμεν, ὄφρα τί μιν προσπτύξομαι ἠδ'ἐρέωμαι
ψ 106 ... ἔπος οὐδ'ἐρέεσθαι

'Ερέομαι might, however, simply be an artificial poetic middle, created by adding middle endings to the active present stem ἐρε(ϝ)- to avoid an undesirable rhythm[38]. Since the present is not found outside of epic, there is no way of proving this, but it would have parallels[39].

For Common Greek, then, we can probably reconstruct an athematic active present *ἔρευμι, and a thematic middle *ἔρϝομαι beside a thematized root aorist *ἐρόμᾱν. At least two other active *eu*-presents, **dr-ew-* (in Skt. *dravati* "runs") and **sr-ew-* (in Skt. *sravati* "flows" and Gk. ῥέω) seem to have had full-grade second syllables, and they agree in showing a zero-grade first syllable with the structure *CR-. A double full-grade would not be expected anyway, suggesting that Common Greek *ἔρευμι is from *$h_1$reumi* with vocalized *h_1[40]. The middle *ἔρϝομαι is technically ambiguous. It might have had a full-grade first syllable like Ved. *tarute*. However, since the *-*eu*- ablauts like a suffix in active *ἔρευμι beside middle *ἔρϝομαι, the first syllable should

[38] See also FOURNIER (1946: 95).
[39] See CHANTRAINE (1942: 79) and WITTE (1912: 148-52).
[40] For the initial laryngeal see MAYRHOFER (1986: 130 w. refs).

behave like a root and not ablaut, so *ἔρϝομαι could be from *h_1r̥w-e/o- with double zero-grade.

The root initial *h_1 is confirmed by ON *raun* and *reyna* beside ἔρευνα and ἐρευνάω. Although ἐρευνάω is found in Homer[41], ἔρευνα, which does not show up until the fifth century[42], looks like a back-formation from ἐρευνάω, as Frisk (1960: 55-56) suggests. However, ἐρευνάω should be a denominative from an unattested feminine result noun *ἐρεύνᾱ, and this, along with ON *raun*, should point to a feminine *$h_1$rou-neh$_2$-. Presumably, an *o*-grade root, as in the Norse word, is to be expected. The *e*-grade second syllable in Greek is perhaps analogical to the Common Greek active present *ἔρευμι

Hittite *ariya-* may simply be a primary verb in *-ye/o- formed from the zero-grade root, i.e. *h_1r̥-ye/o-. In morphological terms, of course, the zero-grade root is the same thing as the weak stem of a root aorist, and *ariya-* could perhaps have been derived from the weak stem of the root aorist that is continued in the Homeric and Attic thematic aorist, i.e. *h_1r̥- > *ar- => ar-iya-[43].

Some syntactic and semantic details remain to be cleared up. While *ariya-* meant "investigate, make inquiry, seek out", and its object was the person, god, item, or situation under investigation, ἐρέω, εἴρομαι usually meant "interrogate" or "ask", and when used transitively, its object was usually the person being asked or interrogated, or an embedded WH-clause. How do we get from one meaning to the other?

The original meaning of ἐρέω, εἴρομαι was clearly "make inquiry, search out, ask after", "investigate"; this is the meaning preserved in φ 31, in Aeolic ἔρευε and in the feminine noun in *-neh$_2$- seen in Old

[41] E.g. ἐρευνῶντες Τ 321, ρ 436, ἐρεύνᾱ χ 180.

[42] E.g. Soph. OT 566, Eur. Ion. 328.

[43] Once Anatolian lost the IE distinction between present and aorist, absorbing the aorist into the *mi*-conjugation present in the process, verbs that were originally aorists could behave morphologically like presents, and there are examples of *mi*-conjugation presents formed from aorist stems, e.g. *pašzi* "takes a swallow" from sigmatic *peh$_3$-s- or *tarḫzi* "overcomes, prevails over" from a root aorist beside the *eu*-present *tarḫuzi* (see also EICHNER 1979: 81-85). The suffix *-ye/o- (-iya-) was very productive in Anatolian, and the extension of root presents with it is a well-known phenomenon. At least two other Hittite verbs in *-iya-* are found beside athematic *mi*-presents that on etymological or morphological grounds might be decendants of root aorists: *ḫark-* "get lost, abscond, perish" and *ḫarkiya-* "id." beside the nasal verb *ḫarni(n)k-*, and *išpart-* "escape" beside *išpartiya-* "id." (for the latter, cf. Skt. 3 pl. mid. aor. *aspr̥dhran* "they rivaled, vied"). The only real difference between an *ariya-* formed from the weak stem of an original root aorist and *ḫarkiya-* and *išpartiya-* is that the suffix *-iya-* became more firmly established in *ariya-* than it did in the other two verbs.

Norse *raun* and implied in ἐρευνάω[44]. Cretan ἐρευταί should also be from the active stem, and it can perhaps be assumed that it was the duty of the Cretan tax collectors to go around investigating people.

And this should be the crucial connection. We have seen that in the Hittite texts, divination is used to investigate a cause or a choice between alternative courses of action. Divination can also be used to investigate people, as in KUB XXII 70, but interrogation is also used. Perhaps ἐρέω, εἴρομαι, originally "investigate", became specialized in the meaning "investigate a person", in other words "interrogate a person". Once the primary meaning was "investigate a person, investigate by interrogation, interrogate", then the shift to "ask" was a minor one — simply a matter of semantic blanching. Once it happened, however, it allowed the use of ἐρέω, εἴρομαι with an object clause.

Certainly the ideas of asking questions and making an investigation ought to be closely related. Compare, for example, the use of "an inquiry" as "an investigation" in English. But we can also look to Hittite for a similar semantic shift. It was noted earlier that *punušš*- in KUB XXII 70 Vs. 32 and 84 means both "ask questions, interrogate" and "investigate", presumably by interrogation. Unfortunately the morphology and history of *punušš*- are obscure[45], but what we may be seeing in KUB XXII 70 is the converse of what happened to ἐρέω, εἴρομαι, a shift from "ask", "interrogate a person" to "investigate a person, investigate".

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[44] Note also Mod. Gk. ἔρευνα "search, research, investigation" and ἐρευνῶ "search, examine."

[45] *Punušš*- surely belongs with Gk. πέπνυμαι "am intelligent, prudent", πεπνυμένος "intelligent, prudent" etc. (OETTINGER 1979: 214-215), but the Greek forms are problematic in their own right (FRISK 1960: 508-509, CHANTRAINE 1974: 833-834, and SZEMERÉNYI 1964: 56-78). It is possible that the stem *punušš*- was derived from the iterative stem *punušk*- via backformation, i.e. **punu*-: iterative *punušk*- => *punušš*-: *punŭšk* on the model of other verbs with stems in /-s/ e.g. *papparšk*- "sprinkle": iterative *papparšk*-. While the texts do not provide unequivocal evidence for this idea, they at least do not contradict it. The iterative *punušk*- occurs in OH (3 sg. pres. *punuškezzi* KBo VIII 42 L. 4, 6) but forms in NH copies of OH originals (e.g. 3 sg. pres. *punušzi* KBo III 17 Vs 7, 3 sg. pret. *punušta* KBo III 63 I 4) suggest that the stem *punušš*- already existed in OH times.

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"SO WEIT UND BREIT WIE DAS MEER..." — DAS MEER IN TEXTEN HATTISCHER PROVENIENZ*

Jörg KLINGER

Trotz einer jahrzehntelangen Beschäftigung mit der hattischen Sprache, an der eine ganze Reihe namhafter Forscher mit wesentlichen Beiträgen beteiligt war, besteht immer noch selbst zu einigen grundsätzlichen Fragen der Sprachstruktur keine Einigkeit, ganz zu schweigen von vielen grammatischen Detailproblemen. Nicht zuletzt ist die begrenzte Kenntnis des Wortschatzes dafür verantwortlich zu machen, daß einsprachige hattische Texte nach wie vor weitgehend unverständlich bleiben. Nahezu alles, was bis heute über diese isolierte Sprache[1] herausgefunden wurde, beruht auf der Analyse der wenig umfangreichen Bilinguen, die zudem meist in einem schlechten Überlieferungszustand begriffen sind, aber nach wie vor unsere einzige Quelle für die Deutung hattischer Wörter darstellen[2].

Diesem kaum ermutigenden Stand der Forschung stand und steht aber das Forschungsinteresse gegenüber, das dem hattischen Material vor allem dort entgegengebracht wird, wo man sich weitere Einblicke in die Grundlagen und die Entwicklung der hethitischen Kultur und ein besseres Verständnis einzelner Erscheinungen erhoffen kann, sei es im mythologisch-religiösen Bereich, sei es in bezug auf Fragen von allgemeiner historischer Relevanz, wie z. B. der Stellung der Königin oder Fragen der Regelung der Herrschernachfolge, wo man immer wieder — meist zu Recht — einen prägenden Einfluß der hattischen Traditionen vermutet hat.

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[1] Auch hierüber besteht — fast ist man geneigt zu sagen: natürlich — keine Einigkeit. Immer wieder im Verlauf der Forschungsgeschichte und in jüngster Zeit wieder verstärkt, vor allem in den Arbeiten von P. TARACHA, hat man versucht, durch die Heranziehung möglicher verwandter Sprachen, wofür in der Regel diverse Kaukasussprachen herhalten mußten, einen Zugang zur Deutung des Hattischen zu finden.

[2] Generell zum hattisch-hethitischen Bilingualismus vgl. etwa SILVESTRI (1988: 167ff.).

Angesichts dieser Ausgangslage mag vielleicht auch ein bescheidener Fortschritt in der Erschließung des Textmaterials eine gewisse Aufmerksamkeit finden, so daß auf diesem Feld des immer breiter werdenden Faches Hethitologie die Entwicklung, sei es auch in kleinen Schritten, weitergehen kann.

Auch wenn bei der Aufarbeitung des hattischen Textmaterials meine Aufmerksamkeit sich noch primär auf die Fragmente richtet, die in der Regel hattisches Sprachmaterial enthalten, so ist es doch naheliegend, zumindest bei den Textgruppen, von denen bekannt ist, daß es sich um Bilinguen handelt, die Suche auf rein hethitische Texte auszudehnen, wenn die Hoffnung besteht, dadurch die Materialbasis für die Erschließung der hattischen Sprache selbst etwas zu vergrößern. Eine Textgruppe, die bisher relativ wenig zur Deutung des Hattischen herangezogen wurde, ist CTH 736 "Paroles de la Zintuḫi dans le temple du Soleil (en partie bilingue)"[3] — sie spielte allenfalls eine gewisse Rolle bei der Frage des Geschlechtes der hattischen Sonnengottheit Eštan[4]. Der Grund für diese geringe Beachtung ist zweifelsohne in dem stark fragmentarischen Charakter des Materials zu suchen, obwohl die Anzahl der Fragmente darauf schließen läßt, daß in den Archiven und Bibliotheken von Ḫattuša mehrere Fassungen des Textes vorhanden gewesen sein müssen und noch bis in die Spätzeit der hethitischen Geschichte zumindest in den Schreiberstuben ein Interesse an den Texten bestand, das durchaus über ein rein "akademisches" hinausgegangen sein dürfte.

Die Komposition, die zumindest in Teilen ausführlicher besprochen werden soll, ist bereits in althethitischer Zeit als Bilingue aufgezeichnet worden, von der in KBo 17.22 (= StBoT 25 Nr. 124) aber nur einige, zudem unvollständige Zeilen der rechten Tafelhälfte auf der Vorder- und der Rückseite erhalten geblieben sind, d.h. die hattische Vorlage dieses Textes ist weitgehend aus jüngeren Abschriften zu rekonstruieren, was natürlich eine weitere Schwierigkeit für die Analyse der Bilingue darstellt. Lediglich mit KBo 25.131 (= StBoT 25 Nr. 131) ist ein weiteres kleines Fragment einer althethitischen Niederschrift der hattischen Fassung erhalten[5], dessen Text mit Vs. 1'ff. dem

[3] Einzelne Texte dieser Gruppe hat BIN-NUN (1972: 77ff.) in Umschrift vorgelegt, allerdings "stellenweise stark korrekturbedürftig" (vgl. NEU [1980a: 207]).

[4] Vgl. LAROCHE (1947a: 71); MACQUEEN (1959: 175ff.) und BIN-NUN (1972: 57ff.) bzw. dies. (1974: 35ff.).

[5] Vgl. auch NEU (1980a: 215), der aufgrund der über den unteren Rand hinweggeführten Beschriftung an eine einkolumnige Tafel denkt, d.h. also an eine einsprachige Fassung. Anders SCHUSTER (1974: 12) (s. ebd.).

letzten erhaltenen Abschnitt von KBo 17.22 Rs. III 14'ff. entsprechen dürfte[6].

Allein von den Abschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts sind Fragmente von drei Fassungen erhalten bzw. konnten bisher identifiziert werden: KUB 28.7, 8 und 84 — zufällig alle ebenfalls das Textende enthaltend und sogar mit Kolophonen[7] in unterschiedlich gutem Überlieferungszustand versehen. Das hier erstmals behandelte kleine Fragment ist ein indirektes Anschlußstück zu einem seit langem bekannten Fragment; es bietet zwar selbst nur wenig neuen Text, hilft aber, als Duplikat zur Übersetzung der althethitischen Fassung aus KBo 17.22 Rs. III eine m. E. bemerkenswerte Textpassage zu vervollständigen, wodurch sich auch einige weitere hattisch-hethitische Textgleichungen ergeben.

Außer diesen Fragmenten, die zum überwiegenden Teil von Bilinguen stammen, sind noch zwei größere Fragmente der hattischen Fassung erhalten, wobei offenbleibt, ob es sich auch hier um ursprünglich zweisprachige Fassungen gehandelt hat. Die Zugehörigkeit von KUB 28.59 wird durch das Duplikat KBo 37.49 gesichert[8], das mit Rs. 11'ff. die Entsprechung zu der in KBo 17.22 Rs. III (und Dupl.) erhaltenen hethitischen Übersetzung liefert, womit sich ein Teil der sonst fast völlig zerstörten hattischen Vorlage wiedergewinnen läßt. Wieweit sich die beiden Texte tatsächlich entsprechen, ist nicht immer ganz klar[9]; so gliedern beide den Text durch Doppelstriche in größere Abschnitte, wie dies auch schon im althethitischen KBo 17.22 der Fall ist. Während aber KUB 28.59 zumindest an einer Stelle (Rs. IV 20'f.) noch hethitische "Regieanweisungen" enthält, ist davon bei KBo 37.49 nichts zu erkennen. Schließlich wäre noch als weiterer Paralleltext zur hethitischen Fassung das kleine Fragment KBo 22.133 zu erwähnen[10].

[6] Die scheinbar abweichende Paragrapheneinteilung kann auch dadurch bedingt sein, daß die Zeilen 6'f., die in KBo 17.22 Rs. III 18'f. übersetzt sind, auf dem unteren Rand angebracht wurden. Dies wäre gleichzeitig ein Hinweis, daß Vs. und Rs. von KBo 25.131 in der Edition nicht richtig bestimmt sind; s. dazu ausführlich weiter unten.

[7] Am besten erhalten in KUB 28.7; stark beschädigt in KUB 28.84. Ich halte es nicht für ausgeschlossen, daß KUB 28.8 eventuell verschiedene Texte enthalten hat, da nach einem doppelten Abschnittstrich nach Vs. 3' zunächst eine Zeile durchgehend über die gesamte Tafelbreite mit hethitischem Text beschriftet wurde, der mit erhaltenem MUNUS.MEŠ*z*]*i-in-tu-ḫe-e-eš ma-a-an-kán INA* É ᵈU[TU weitgehend den Kolophoneinträgen der anderen beiden Texte zu entsprechen scheint. Dabei erscheint *PANI* LUGAL sogar erst in Zeile 5a, also dem Abschnitt, der eigentlich hattischen Text enthalten sollte.

[8] Als Duplikat von A. Kammenhuber erkannt, von E. Laroche als CTH 744.3 eingeordnet. Bei Schuster (1974: 26) werden diese beiden Texte unter nicht näher bestimmbaren Fragmenten von Lokalkulten gebucht.

[9] Zum Vergleich der beiden Fragmente in bezug auf die Qualität der Überlieferung vgl. Schuster (1974: 46, 48 und bes. 51 c. n. 167).

[10] Nach Archi (1988: 7 n. 9).

Die Textgruppe CTH 736 wäre jetzt also folgendermaßen zusammenzustellen:

1. KUB 28.7
2. KUB 28.8 (+) KBo 37.48
3. KUB 28.84
4. KBo 17.22
5. KBo 25.131
6. KBo 22.133
7. KUB 28.59
8. KBo 37.49

Nach Ausweis des Kolophons handelt es sich um Texte, die von einer *zintuḫi*-Priesterin im Tempel der Sonnengottheit in Anwesenheit des Königs "vorgetragen" wurden[11]. Auch der Eintrag im Tafelkatalog KUB 30.42 Rs. IV 11-13, der allerdings von mehreren *zintuḫi*-Frauen spricht, dürfte auf unseren Text zu beziehen sein[12], womit außerdem gesichert ist, daß das ganze Werk nur eine Tafel umfaßte. Bei unserem Versuch, aus den Bruchstücken ein möglichst zusammenhängendes Ganzes zu rekonstruieren, müssen wir uns allerdings auch der Tatsache bewußt sein, daß schon für die hethitischen Schreiber die Überlieferungssituation nicht unproblematisch war. Denn der Kolophon von KUB 28.7 informiert uns darüber, daß die ursprüngliche Tafel beschädigt war und ein gewisser Attanalli sie neu angefertigt hat.

Nicht ganz einfach zu beantworten ist die Frage, um welche Art von Text es sich handelt. Man hat ihn als "Gebet"[13] bezeichnet, was aufgrund der vokativischen Anfänge z.B. der Abschnitte KBo 17.22 Vs. II 8', 13' einiges für sich hat. Inhaltlich erinnert der Text an die sogenannten "Labarna-Heilsformeln", wie sie vorwiegend als Teil von Festritualen überliefert sind, oder an Texte wie KUB 36.110 oder KBo 21.22, für die wir ebenfalls ursprünglich hattische Vorlagen voraussetz-

[11] Sowohl KUB 28.7 als auch KUB 28.84 formulieren den ersten Teil des Kolophons in akkadischer Sprache; beide verwenden als Verbum dicendi für die Bezeichnung der Vortragsweise eine Form der 3. Sg. Präs. des akkadischen *dabābu* "sprechen, reden" (*AHw*, 146b), das auch "rezitieren, vortragen" (ebd., 147a; vgl. auch *CAD* D, 4: "2. to recite, to speak aloud") heißen kann.

[12] Dort (KUB 30.42 Rs. IV 13) wird eine *sk*-Form des Verbums *memai-* verwendet. Zu diesem Tafelkatalog vgl. auch E. LAROCHE, CTH, 131 n. 1 und ebd., 164.

[13] So bezeichnet etwa NEU (1980a: 206) den Text; vgl. noch BIN-NUN (1972: 57). Ein ganz ähnlicher Text liegt mit KBo 25.122 (= StBoT 25 Nr. 122) vor, wo ein neuer Abschnitt (II 9'ff.) mit einer Anrufung an [d]Kattešḫaui beginnt und in II 2' wahrscheinlich der gleiche Wunsch nach langem Leben für den König wie in KBo 17.22 Rs. III 6' enthalten ist; vgl. NEU (1980a: 204 c. n. 665).

zen dürfen[14]. Zwar ist die hethitische Übersetzung auf der Vorderseite noch schlechter erhalten als auf der Rückseite, aber zumindest ein Abschnitt, der das eben Gesagte gut illustriert, läßt sich in etwa wiederherstellen:

KBo 17.22 Vs. II

8' dUTU-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL LUGAL-*uš ḫu-iš-u̯[a-an-za e-eš-tu*[15]]
9' *ku-it* DINGIR^MEŠ^-*eš ú-u̯a-an-zi* LUGAL-*u*[*š-ma-at a-uš-du*]
10' [*k*]*u-it* DINGIR^MEŠ^-*eš iš-ta-ma-aš-ša-a*[*n-zi* LUGAL-*uš-ma-at*]
11' [*i*]*š-ta-ma-aš-tu ku-it da-an-d*[*u-ke-eš-na-aš* DUMU-*aš a-uš-zi*]
12' [LUGAL]-*ša-at le-e a-u*[*š-zi*]

Oh Sonnengöttin, Königin! Der König soll leben!
Was die Götter sehen, das soll aber der König sehen!
Was die Götter hören, das soll aber der König
hören! Was das Menschenkind sieht,
das aber soll der König nicht sehen!

Schließlich könnten sowohl der Kolophon als auch die Regieanweisung in KUB 28.54 IV 20'f. darauf hindeuten, daß wir es hier mit der separaten Aufzeichnung der im Rahmen eines Rituals verwendeten, die manuellen Riten begleitenden Texte handelt, wie das auch aus anderem Zusammenhang bekannt ist.

Mit dieser etwas verbreiterten Textbasis ist es nun möglich, die seit langem anhaltende Diskussion um das Geschlecht der hattischen Sonnengottheit zu einem Abschluß zu bringen. Daß der Name der hattischen Sonnengottheit Eštan lautet, ist seit langem bekannt und im Prinzip unbestritten[16]. Weit weniger Einigkeit besteht dagegen in der Frage, welches Geschlecht dieser Gottheit zuzuschreiben ist. Auf die Existenz einer weiblichen Sonnengottheit der Hattier hat zuerst E. Laroche eben aufgrund der bilinguen Passagen des Festrituals CTH 736 hingewiesen[17]. Dies läßt sich nun insofern bestätigen, als der Name Eštan tatsächlich mit der femininen Form *kattaḫ* attribuiert wird, dem wiederum in der hethitischen Fassung dUTU-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL entspricht. Der Beleg

[14] Eine Gruppe solcher auf das Hattische zurückgehende Sprüche behandelt auch DEL MONTE (1984: 167ff.).

[15] Zur Ergänzung vgl. etwa KBo 25.112 Vs. II 4' [LU]GAL-*uš ḫu-šu-u̯a-an-za e-eš-tu*.

[16] Das eindeutigste Beispiel liefert die Bilingue KBo 37.1 +, wo hattisch *Eš-ta-a-an* (Vs. 3a) in der hethitischen Übersetzung dUTU-*uš* entspricht (vgl. KAMMENHUBER [1962: 5f.] mit älterer Literatur und weiteren Belegen).

[17] LAROCHE (1947a: 198). Andererseits heißt es z.B. wieder bei GIRBAL (1986: 143): "Es ist davon auszugehen, daß Estan als männlich betrachtet wurde".

eš-ta-a-an aus KUB 28.8 Rs. 11'a gehört zu *k]a-a-at-taḫ* aus KUB 28.84 Rs. IV 3', was wiederum genau der Stelle *[eš-t]a-a-an ka-a-a[t-taḫ* aus KBo 25.131 Vs.? 5' entspricht; gesichert wird dies vor allem durch KBo 37.49 Rs. 22', das die hattische Version zu KBo 17.22 Rs. III darstellt, wo in 17'b ᵈUTU-*i* MUNUS.LUGAL steht[18].

Durch den Hinweis, daß die hattische Sonnengottheit auch als "Mutter" bezeichnet werden konnte, hat E. Neu die These vom weiblichen Geschlecht weiter untermauert; den von ihm angeführten Beispielen[19] läßt sich noch ein Beleg aus dem hier herangezogenen Text anfügen, wo an einer Stelle, deren hattische Fassung nicht erhalten ist, die Sonnengöttin als Beschützerin des Königs auch als "seine Mutter" bezeichnet wird[20].

Die Komplementierung von ᵈUTU in den hethitischen Textbeispielen mit *-uš* im Nominativ oder *-i* im Vokativ läßt nur den Schluß zu, daß der sich dahinter verbergende Name ein *u*-Stamm sein muß[21], wofür nach Lage der Dinge allein Ištanu in Frage kommt. Dies unterstützen auch Belege wie KUB 2.5 I 12 ᵈUTU ᵈ*Tappinu*, dem in KUB 25.1 II 42 ᵈ*Ištanu* [ᵈ*Tap*]*pinun=a* entspricht — die hattische Version des in Festritualen vielfach belegten Paares ᵈUTU (ᵁᴿᵁArinna) ᵈ*Mezzulla*[22]; Ištanu ist hier also Name der Sonnengöttin von Arinna, während Mezzulla schlicht

[18] Vgl. noch KBo 17.22 II 8', 13'. Die von BIN-NUN (1974: 35f.) vorgebrachte Kritik ist unbegründet; *kattaḫ* dürfte in KUB 28.8 zu Beginn der Zeile Rs. 12'a gestanden haben und kann sich nicht auf die hethitische Königin beziehen, da die hethitische Fassung deutlich zeigt, daß sie in diesem Abschnitt gar nicht erwähnt wird; unkorrekt ist ebenfalls die Behauptung (ebd., 36 n. 25), daß nur KBo 17.22 III 5'f. zu KUB 28.8 Rs. 2'b f. paßt, der Rest sich aber nicht entsprechen soll — vielmehr enthalten beide Fragmente denselben Text und lassen sich gegenseitig bestens ergänzen. Vgl. noch BIN-NUN (1972: 77ff.).

[19] Vgl. NEU (1974: 126f.). Das dort zitierte Beispiel einer Quasibilingue aus der Textgruppe CTH 733 bietet die Gleichung *le-e*(-)ᵈUTU gegenüber hethitischem ᵈUTU-*uš zik*, worauf wohl die von SCHUSTER (1974: 115) geäußerte Vermutung, es existiere ein selbständiges Personalpronomen *li-e* des Hattischen, beruhen dürfte; dies stellt m.E. die beste Erklärung dar, die gleichzeitig die Spekulationen um eine Sonnengottheit **Leštan* (vgl. LAROCHE [1946f.: 98]; ders. [1958: 45]; dazu ablehnend KAMMENHUBER [1962: 7]; dies. [1969: 434]) unnötig macht.

[20] KBo 17.22 II 5' ᵈUTU-*uš an-na-aš-ši-i*[*š*; vgl. auch NEU (1980a: 207 n. 685) und (1983: 15) zur Diskussion um diese Lesung.

[21] Als weiteres Beispiel sei nur auf den Vokativ LUGAL-*u-i*, d.h. *ḫaššui*, in KBo 25.122 II 9' hingewiesen.

[22] Vgl. dazu auch STARKE (1979: 66f. n. 39): "Mit ᴰUTU kann auf Grund des nachfolgenden Götternamens Mezulla nur die Sonnengöttin von Arinna gemeint sein. Die alte und oft wiederholte Behauptung, daß sie in ah. Texten nicht vorkomme [...], bedarf also einer Korrektur insofern, als mit der Sonnengöttin (ᴰUTU ist im Altheth. immer weiblich!) in den ah. Texten wohl immer die Sonnengöttin von Arinna gemeint ist". Eine Einschränkung ist hier lediglich insofern notwendig, als ᵈUTU auch ah. nicht nur für eine weibliche Sonnengottheit steht.

in hattischer Sprache als "ihr Kind" bzw. "ihre Tochter" bezeichnet wird.

Als erstes Ergebnis können wir also festhalten, daß Eštan mit Sicherheit die weibliche Sonnengöttin bezeichnet und daß in den hethitischen Texten dieselbe Gottheit unter dem Namen Ištanu ebenfalls weiblich ist. Dies widerspricht insofern der gängigen Auffassung[23], als man für Ištanu gewöhnlich von männlichem Geschlecht ausgeht, was aber nur schwer oder gar nicht zu beweisen ist, wie schon von H.G. Güterbock völlig zu Recht betont wurde[24]. Man hat sich dabei immer auf die Bildbeschreibung KUB 38.2 III 5 gestützt, wo jedoch die Rede von der "Sonnengottheit des Himmels" ist[25]; es kann nun aber kein Zweifel daran bestehen, daß bereits in althethitischer Zeit zwei Sonnengottheiten existierten — und zwar eine "Sonnengottheit des Himmels" und eine "Sonnengottheit der Erde"[26], wobei es sich bei letzterer um die weibliche Sonnengöttin handeln muß, was durch das Attribut GAŠAN-*I̯A* "meine Herrin" in anderen Texten unterstrichen wird[27]. Wir müssen also mit zwei Sonnengottheiten — einer männlichen und einer weiblichen — rechnen[28]. Die Frage, ob beide Gottheiten ihren Ursprung in einer gemeinsamen Kultschicht haben, d.h. ob auch die Hattier schon über beide Varianten verfügten, bleibt dabei allerdings offen[29].

[23] Vgl. GURNEY (1977: 11 n. 1) mit weiterer Literatur; auch NEU (1974: 128) geht davon aus, daß — zumindest in späterer Zeit — Ištanu der Name der männlichen Sonnengottheit ist, während S. BIN-NUN ᵈUTU-*uš* immer als männlich betrachtet, was aber schon durch Belege in Verbindung mit Mezzulla widerlegt wird. Vgl. schließlich noch GÜTERBOCK (1976-80: 209f.).

[24] GÜTERBOCK (1976-80: 209): "Daß im Heth. auch der männliche Sonnengott **Ištanuš* hieß, wird meist angenommen, ist aber nicht zu beweisen".

[25] KUB 38.2 III 5 ᵈUTU AN^{E} ALAM LÚ KÙ.BABBAR *a-ša-an*; zu bildlichen Darstellungen desselben Gottes vgl. VON SCHULER (1965: 198). In KBo 26.218, 1f. ist dagegen die weibliche Kultstatuette einer Sonnengöttin von Arinna erwähnt; vgl. dazu GÜTERBOCK (1983: 210 c. n. 53).

[26] Vgl. KBo 17.7+ Rs. IV$^{?}$ 7'ff., wo die Aufnahme mit *šumeš* und das pluralische Verbum deutlich zeigen, daß es sich in der Tat um zwei Gottheiten handelt.

[27] Vgl. OTTEN (1950: 120 n. 7); ders. (1961: 145 n. 285); BOSSERT (1955: 68f.).

[28] Dies widerlegt die oben zitierte Position STARKES (1979: 66 n. 39). Darf man die Tatsache, daß die männliche Sonnengottheit, soweit sich das sicher sagen läßt, nicht in den ah. Festritualtexten, sondern nur in dem althethitischen Ritual für das Königspaar auftritt, dahingehend interpretieren, daß hier schon Šiuš auftritt, während er in den offiziellen Staatskult noch nicht eingedrungen ist?

[29] Auf dem Hintergrund der Deutung von ᵈ*Šiuš* als aus dem Indogermanischen ererbter Sonnengott und der Tatsache, daß im Luwischen und Palaischen **di̯ēus* als Göttername erhalten blieb (zum gesamten Problemkomplex NEU [1974: 128ff.]), erscheint es mir plausibel, den Ursprung des "Sonnengottes des Himmels" dort und nicht in der hattischen Kultschicht zu suchen.

Im folgenden soll nun aber nicht die gesamte Textgruppe CTH 736 behandelt werden, sondern ich werde mich im wesentlichen auf den jetzt zu vervollständigenden Text aus KBo 17.22 Rs. III bzw. auf den Paralleltext KUB 28.8 (+) KBo 37.48 mit den in KBo 37.49 erhaltenen bzw. ergänzten Passagen der hattischen Vorlage beschränken[30].

KUB 28.8 (+) 291/s
ergänzt nach KBo 17.22 Rs. III (vgl. StBoT 25 Nr. 124)[31]

Rs. r. Kol.

x+1 (*ḫa-a-aš*)-*ta*]LUGAL-*un* MUNUS.LU[GAL-*an-na*]

2' *ḫu-*(*u-ma-an-ti-i̯a-p*)*á*]*t še-e-er ḫa-a-aš-ta*[ ]

3' *nu-uš* KU[R-*an-ti* (LUGAL^{MEŠ} *i-e*)] *-et*

4' *nu-za la-ba-a*[(*r-na-aš* LUGAL-*uš ut-n*)*e-*]*e da-a-aš* MU$^{ḪI.A}$-*ša-az*

5' *ta-lu-ga-uš d*[(*a-a-aš nu la-b*)*a-ar-na-a*]*š* MU$^{ḪI.A}$-*še-eš ta-lu-ga-e-eš*

6' *pal-ḫa-e-eš a-š*[*a-an-du a-ru-na-aš*[32]] *ma-aḫ-ḫa-an ta-lu-ga-aš*

7' *pal-ḫi-iš la-b*[(*a-ar-na-ša* MU$^{ḪI.}$)]^{A} *QA-TAM-MA ta-lu-ga-e-eš*

8' *pal-ḫi-e-eš* [*a-ša- a*]*n-du*

9' *la-ba-ar-na-a*[(*š šu-ur-ki-iš-š*)*e-eš*]*a-ru-na-aš te-e-ga-aš-še-et*

10' *ú-e-mi-i̯a-a*[*n-zi* (*la-aḫ-ḫu-ur-n*)]*u-zi-i̯a-an-te-ša*

11' *ne-pí-iš*[*ú-e-mi-i̯a-a*]*n-zi*

...Und sie? machte sie zu Königen für die [Bevölkerung des] Landes.

Und der *labarna*, der König, nahm sich das Land. Lange Jahre nahm er sich. Und des *labarna* seine Jahre sollen lang (und) breit sein. Wie das Meer lang (und) breit (ist), ebenso sollen aber die Jahre des *labarna* lang (und) breit [se]in!

Des *labarna* seine Wurzeln erreichen den Grund des Meeres, die Zweige aber [errei]chen den Himmel.

Dem entspricht nun der folgende hattische Text, bei dem weder Anfang noch Ende der Zeilen erhalten sind, was eine genaue Zuordnung der hethitischen Übersetzung erschwert. Zudem sei nochmals daran erinnert, daß zwischen der Niederschrift der beiden Texte mehrere hundert Jahre lagen und insbesondere dem hattischen Text mit Vorsicht begegnet werden muß. Dennoch ergeben sich einige klare Entsprechungen.

[30] Es ist klar, daß in diesem Rahmen eine ins Detail gehende Diskussion aller im folgenden anklingenden Probleme der hattischen Grammatik nicht geleistet werden kann. Ich werde mich meist auf Hinweise auf bereits in der Literatur vorliegende Deutungen beschränken; für alles weitere sei auf KLINGER (1996) verwiesen.

[31] Eine etwas abweichende Umschrift der Zeilen KBo 17.22 III 10-12 auch CHD L-N, 16a.

[32] Die Ergänzung von *aruna-* in Z. 6' kann sich vor allem auf KBo 22.133, 7', wo]*a-ru-na-aš i-u̯a-a*[*r* erhalten ist, stützen.

KBo 37.49 Rs.
11']x-*e-ú ka-a-at-ti pa-la ka-a-at*[-*taḫ*]x x[
12' *es-t*]*a-a-an tu-ut-ḫe-el u̯u*$_u$*-u-ur te-pu-uš tu-u-u̯a*$_a$*-a*[*b*(-)
13' (-)*u̯u*$_u$-*r*]*u-un te-u̯a*$_a$*-ka-at-ti* [

14' [ ]*x-mi-iš ta-ba-ar-na li-u̯u*$_u$*-u-ur tu-ú*[-
15' [*ta-b*]*a-ar-na le-e-li-i-iš ta-ba-ar-n*[*a*
16' -]*li-iš te-u̯u*$_u$*-u-ti-i̯a te-e-ḫa-a-ar-ki-m*[(*a-a-aḫ-ḫa*)][33]
17' -]x-*li-in te-ep-pu-ú-ut* [

18' [*ta-ba-a*]*r-na-an le-eš-tu-ub ḫa-a-an-u̯a*$_a$ *ḫa-š*[(*a-a-aḫ-ḫu*)][34]
19' [(*pu-u-lu-ku-p*)]*é-e*[35] *zi-i̯a-aḫ-du an-za-aš-nu-u* [
20' [*t*(*a-ba-ar-n*)*a*-]x(-)*ku-u̯e*$_e$*-en-na*[36] *u̯u*$_u$*-ru-u*[(*n te-eš-te-eš* KI.MIN)]
21']x-*u̯a* KI.III *te-ḫa-lu-uḫ-ḫa* K[(I.IV *te*-x)
22' (x-*ri-a eš-t*)]*a-a-an ka-a-at-taḫ ti-ú*[-
23' [(*ta-ba-ar-na*)]*ka-a-at-ti eš-ta-a-nu-u*[*n* (x-ri-ri-ib)]
24' [(*pa-la* ^{d}IM-*e ḫa-a-le*-)]*e-tu-u-ni-ib*[37] *u̯u*$_u$*-u-u*[(*r*(-)*ša-a*)(-)?[38]]

Die Rekonstruktion der Zeilen Rs. 20'ff. basiert auf der Verwertung aller zur Verfügung stehenden Paralleltexte, d.h. KUB 28.8 Rs. lk. Kol. 10a ff., KUB 28.84 Rs. IV und KBo 25.131. Da der Text KUB 28.7 Vs. lk. Kol. 1a-3a der vermeintlichen "Rs.?" von KBo 25.131 entspricht, folgt daraus, daß dort die Bezeichnungen von Vs. und Rs. umzukehren sind und der hattische Text mit der Zeile unt. Rd. 6'f. endet. Die letzte Zeile (unt. Rd. 8') könnte einen kolophonartigen Vermerk enthalten haben. Die hethitische Übersetzung zu diesem Abschnitt ist lediglich mit den Zeilenanfängen in KBo 17.22 Rs. III 14'-19' und — noch schlechter — in KUB 28.8 Rs. 10b-13b greifbar.

Es ist mir nicht möglich, den Kontext des ersten Abschnittes vollständig zu rekonstruieren; lediglich einzelne Wortgleichungen bieten

[33] Ergänzt nach KUB 28.8 Rs. lk. Kol. "4a".

[34] Ergänzt nach KUB 28.8 Rs. lk.. Kol. "7a"; das letzte Zeichen ist auch erhalten in KBo 17.22 Rs. IV.

[35] Ergänzt nach KUB 28.8 Rs. lk.. Kol. "7a".

[36] Vgl. etwa ein *kur-ku-u̯e*$_e$*-en-na* in KUB 1.17 VI 10, 20. Der vorausgehende Zeichenrest paßt jedoch nicht zum Zeichen KUR.

[37] Also nicht *te=tunib*, wie KAMMENHUBER (1969: 513) angenommen hat.

[38] Das Ende der Zeile KUB 28.84 Rs. IV 6' wurde von HAAS (1970: 160) mit...-*ša*-[*el*] umschrieben und zusammen mit dem Beleg *pu-ru-ša-el* aus KUB 36.89 Vs. 10 als "analoges Kompositum" zu *daganzipa*- gedeutet (ebd., 161) Bei GIRBAL (1986: 74) lautet die Umschrift inzwischen...-*ša-e*[*l*], wird jetzt aber abweichend von V. HAAS als "Herr der Erde (oder des Landes)" gedeutet, wobei es sich lediglich um eine "Variante" zu dem anderen von V. HAAS herangezogenen Beleg handeln soll, dessen semantische Deutung des Wortes aber verworfen wird, ohne auf die Bildung der Form oder dessen Argumentation überhaupt einzugehen.

sich an. Klar ist die hethitische Übersetzung mit “und sie machte sie[39] für die Bevölkerung des Landes zu Königen”. Hattisches *u̯urun te-u̯a-katti* kann man mit “des Landes seine Könige” übersetzen, was als Vorlage für den heth. Text durchaus akzeptabel sein dürfte. Für das heth. Verbum *ii̯a-* “machen” ist als Entsprechung im Hattischen die Verbalwurzel *u̯/pu* bekannt[40]; die Bilingue KUB 2.2 Vs. III 15/18 liefert mit *a-am-bu* die auch hier für *ii̯et* zu erwartende Form, die allerdings in den erhaltenen Passagen der Vorlage nicht auftaucht. Denkbar wäre allenfalls, daß *tu-u-u̯*a_a*-a*[*b*(-) (Rs. 12') zu einer — bisher unbekannten bzw. ungedeuteten — Form des Verbalstammes *pu* zu ergänzen sein könnte.

Der folgende Abschnitt bietet aufgrund der vollständig erhaltenen hethitischen Übersetzung immerhin die Möglichkeit, eine Gliederung des hattischen Textes zu versuchen, zumal da die eine oder andere hattische Wortform in ihrer Semantik bereits aus anderem Zusammenhang annähernd bestimmt werden kann. Versuchsweise lassen sich die folgenden Zuordnungen gegenüberstellen:

1 *nu=za labarnaš ḫaššuš utne daš*
1' [-]*miš tabarna li=u̯ur*
2 *u̯ettuš=*(*a*)*z talugauš daš*
2' *tu-ú-*[/ [*tab*]*arna leliš*
3 *labarnaš u̯etteš=šeš talugaeš palḫaeš ašandu*
3' *tabarna*[*n* X *le?*]*liš te=u̯ut=i̯a*
4 *arunaš maḫḫan talugaš palḫiš*
4' *te=ḫa=arkimaḫḫa*
5 *labarnaš=a u̯etteš QATAMMA talugaeš palḫeš ašandu*
5']x*lin te=pput*

Unproblematisch ist die Übersetzung von]*miš tabarna li-u̯ur* mit *nu=za labarnaš ḫaššuš utne daš*, “der t/labarna, der König, nahm sich das (bzw. sein) Land”. Der hattische Verbalstamm *miš* als Entsprechung zu heth. *da-* “nehmen” ist schon seit längerem bekannt[41]; zu erwarten wäre also eine Form *ammiš* mit der assimilierten Variante

[39] Bezieht sich dies auf einen zuvor genannten König und die Königin oder vielleicht doch — wegen *ḫašta* — jeweils auf die Nachkommen eines jeden Königspaares, d.h. des Herrscherpaares *tabarna* und *tau̯ananna*. Trifft letzteres zu, dann hätten wir hier einen deutlichen Hinweis auf deszendente Thron- und Erbfolge auch schon im Rahmen der hattischen “Herrschaftsideologie”.

[40] Vgl. zu diesem Verbum bereits den Überblick bei Kammenhuber (1969: 528) und das von Schuster (1974: 93) zusammengestellte Paradigma.

[41] Es sei hier lediglich auf Schuster (1974: 116) verwiesen.

des Präfixes (*a-*)*an-*, das die 3. Pers. Sg. markiert[42], vor folgendem /m/[43].

Die folgenden Sätze sind dagegen weniger eindeutig zu analysieren, weshalb ich mich hier nur auf einige sichere Gleichungen beschränken möchte. Als erstes wären die Verbalformen *te=u̯ut=i̯a* bzw. *te=put* zu nennen, die im Hethitischen mit dem Imperativ *ašandu* übersetzt werden. Einen hattischen Verbalstamm *put* hatte E. Laroche bereits im Jahre 1950 aufgrund der Bilingue KUB 24.14 angesetzt, wo — so seine Vermutung — heth. *ašandu* die Entsprechung zu der hattischen Verbalform *te=š=put* darstellt, die er überzeugend als mit dem Modalpräfix /te/ und der Pluralmarkierung /(e)š/[44] gebildet erklärte[45]. Für die hier vorliegende Form bleibt zu vermuten, daß entweder die Pluralmarkierung, die wir nach der hethitischen Übersetzung erwarten würden, gänzlich unterblieben ist oder aber, daß vielleicht das Pluralkennzeichen *-u̯*(*a*) gebraucht wurde, was im einen Falle zur Schreibung mit /u̯u$_{u}$/, im anderen zur (graphischen) Verdoppelung von /p/ geführt haben könnte[46].

Eine Analyse von *leliš* als *le=liš*, d.h. Nomen *liš* mit Possessivpräfix[47], könnte für eine Korrektur des Textes zu [*tab*]*arna<n>* sprechen, also mit vorausgehendem Kasus obliquus. Jedoch spricht ein Beleg *tabarna katti li-i-li-iš* (KBo 37.144 Vs. 5') gegen diese Annahme; außerdem

[42] Ich halte an einer mehr traditionellen Deutung der Personenkennzeichen des hattischen finiten Verbums fest, da m.E. die von TARACHA (1988: 62) wieder aufgegriffene Erklärung von /an/ als Demonstrativum nicht zu überzeugen vermag; zum Ansatz eines durch die Pleneschreibung im Anlaut markierten Reflexiv- oder Richtungselementes vgl. zusammenfassend KAMMENHUBER (1969: 512f., 531) und dies. (1962: 21ff.).

[43] Dies dürfte allgemein für die Position vor Labial gelten, wie das gerade zitierte Beispiel *am-bu* = heth. *iet* "er machte" (KUB 2.2 Vs. III 15/18) zeigt, wofür aber auch ein Beleg des bekannten Ortsnamens URU*La-aḫ-za-am-pí* (KBo 21.82 Vs. I 17') zitiert werden kann. Es gibt allerdings Ausnahmen, vgl. etwa *ta-aḫ-ku-um-pa-li* (KUB 28.53 Vs. II 2', Rs. III 10', IV 10; ähnlich *taḫ-ku-ú-um-pa-li-i* KUB 28.45 Vs. I 18') gegenüber *ta-aḫ-ku-un-pa-li* (KUB 28.53 Vs. II 14' und öfters in anderen Texten).

Eine analoge Erscheinung läßt sich auch im Palaischen nachweisen, vor allem beim Antritt der Partikel *-pi*; vgl. CARRUBA (1970: 67).

[44] Nach KAMMENHUBER (1969: §24, bes. S. 512) widerspricht eine solche Analyse der von ihr aufgestellten Regel, daß diese Pluralmarkierung nur bei transitiven Verben auftreten könne.

[45] Die Diskussion desselben Textes mit abweichender Analyse bei GIRBAL (1986: 111ff.) dürfte damit hinfällig sein.

[46] Sicher singularische Formen liegen mit *te-pu-u-ut* z.B. in KUB 28.75 II 12 bzw. KUB 28.77 + I 15, II 14' vor. Die von KAMMENHUBER (1969: 505) geäußerte Vermutung trifft offenbar nicht zu.

[47] Auch der gesamte Komplex der hattischen Possessivpräfixe ist ebenfalls noch keineswegs eindeutig geklärt; vgl. wiederum zusammenfassend KAMMENHUBER (1969: 534ff.) und dagegen etwa TARACHA (1988: 62 c. n. 18), der *le-* als Pluralpräfix erklären möchte.

kann das Possessivpräfix auch außerhalb einer Regens-Rektum-Verbindung stehen, wie ja schon die Zeile 14' zeigt, so daß es sich lediglich um ein Nomen mit Possessivpräfix handelt. Demnach kann *tabarna* wohl nur Subjekt und *leliš* Objekt zum am Ende der Zeile abgebrochenen Verbum sein. Wenn die Satzgrenze hinter *leliš* in 13' anzusetzen ist, wäre der folgende Satz mit "des Tabarna sein X soll []*liš* sein" zu übersetzen. Es ist nicht sicher, ob es sich dabei um die Entsprechung zu MU$^{\text{ḪI.A}}$-*šeš* handelt, wobei -*šeš* das hattische Poss.präfix *le*- wiedergeben dürfte[48], so daß für das Zeilenende die Vorlage für *talugaeš* und *palḫaeš* zu vermuten wäre.

Wenn die hier vorgeschlagene Zuordnung von hattischer Vorlage und hethitischer Übersetzung zutrifft, dann wird dadurch auch deutlich, daß die für das Hethitische so typische Wendung "wie x so und so ist, ebenso soll y sein" in der Vorlage ganz anders formuliert gewesen sein dürfte. Deshalb wäre es auch spekulativ, weitere Entsprechungen in den beiden Fassungen identifizieren zu wollen. Was sich festhalten läßt, ist, daß es sich bei *teḫarkimaḫḫa* um ein Wort handeln dürfte, da ein weiterer Beleg, lediglich mit der Variante -*ḫa-a-ar*- in KBo 37.144 Vs. 2' vorliegt, einem Text, der sonst deutliche Spatien hat. Als Verbalform gedeutet, wäre /te/ als Optativpräfix und /ḫa/ als Lokalmarkierung zu interpretieren.

Erfreulicher ist schließlich wieder der folgende Abschnitt der hethitischen Übersetzung, deren hattische Vorlage hier zur Gänze wiederhergestellt werden konnte. Wie jetzt deutlich wird, sollen die "Wurzeln" des *tabarna* nicht nur die Erde, sondern vielmehr "den Grund des Meeres" erreichen. Abgesehen von der Gleichung hatt. *le=štub* = heth. *šurkiš=šeš*[49], erhalten wir damit auch ein hattisches Wort für "Meer", das ganz offensichtlich etymologisch nichts mit heth. *aruna*- zu tun haben kann[50]. Man wird *ḫan=u̯a* segmentieren dürfen, wobei mit -*u̯a* ein Lokativpräfix vorliegt, das sich auch in hatt. *zi-i-iš-pa* = *INA* ḪUR.SAG nachweisen läßt[51]. Die zugehörige Verbalform *ḫa= šaḫ=u* enthält ebenfalls ein

[48] Vgl. dazu auch noch später.

[49] Auch hier wird das hatt. Possessivpräfix *le*- mit heth. enklitischem Possessivpronomen übersetzt, wie bereits oben zu *le=liš* vermutet.

[50] Zur Diskussion, ob *aruna*- eventuell aus dem Hattischen stammen kann, vgl. TISCHLER (1977ff.: 71ff.), PUHVEL (1984: 232) mit der dort genannten Literatur, und schließlich KAMMENHUBER, *HW*² A, 354 und WILHELM (1993: 4a). Dagegen hat FURLAN (1993: 49ff.) unter Berücksichtigung der älteren Literatur einen ansprechenden Vorschlag für eine indogermanische Etymologie vorgelegt.

[51] Entsprechend zu korrigieren ist KUB 2.2 Vs. II 57 bei SCHUSTER (1974: 68) nach KBo 19.162 Vs. 14; hinfällig ist damit der Abschnitt 1.3.81 ebd., 100 und die Ablehnung einer Lokativpartikel -*pa*/-*u̯a* ebd., 103.

Lokativpräfix[52] vor einer bisher ungedeuteten Verbalwurzel *šaḫ*[53]. Eine genaue Entsprechung zu heth. *u̯emii̯a-* ist schon deshalb nicht zu erwarten, da der Satz syntaktisch in der Übersetzung ganz anders konstruiert wurde; so fehlt die Lokativangabe, und die parallele Ausdrucksweise ist in der hattischen Vorlage nicht zu erkennen. Vielmehr liegt dort mit *an=zaš=nu* eine Form des Verbalstammes *nu* "gehen" vor, deren Präfixkomplex bis auf das Kennzeichen der 3. Pers. Sg. noch nicht sicher zu deuten ist[54]. Da hierfür schon andere überzeugende Belege bekannt waren, ist dagegen die Entsprechung von hatt. *zi=i̯aḫdu* und heth. *nepiš* "Himmel" wieder klar[55], auch wenn hier die im Hattischen vorhandene Lokativform in der hethitischen Übersetzung anders wiedergegeben wird. Und schließlich wird man als erstes Wort des hattischen Satzes und Entsprechung zu heth. *laḫḫurnuzzi-* "Laubwerk, Grün", mit personifizierender *-ant*-Erweiterung[56], ein *puluku* ansetzen können, an das die Partikel *-pe*[57] angefügt ist, die mit heth. *-ma* "aber" wiedergegeben wird.

Die Erwähnung des Meeres im Rahmen einer sogenannten "Labarna-Heilsformel", wie sie in unserem Text mehrfach auftritt, ist nicht weiter überraschend, wird doch gerade in Texten, die der hattischen Kultschicht zuzuweisen sind, mehrfach das Meer erwähnt. Dabei läßt das primäre Siedlungsgebiet der Hattier und die Verbindung des Meeres mit der Ausdehnung des Herrschaftsbereiches keinen Zweifel daran, daß allein

[52] Formal identisch bei Nomen und Verbum nachweisbar; vgl. KAMMENHUBER (1969: 531).

[53] Sollte noch /(a)š/ als Präfix abzutrennen sein, könnte der Verbalstamm *aḫ* vorliegen, für den als heth. Entsprechung das Verbum *dai-* belegt und der vor allem durch den Imperativ *aḫa*, häufig als Ausruf in hethitischen Festritualen, bekannt ist. Semantisch bleibt "setzen, stellen, legen" für unsere Textstelle aber problematisch. Oder sollte gar *-ḫu* abzutrennen sein; zu *-ḫu* als Partikel der zitierten bzw. wörtlichen Rede vgl. SCHUSTER (1974: 142f.) mit weiterer Literatur; GIRBAL (1986: 177) geht von einer Verwandtschaft mit dem von ihm angesetzten Verbalstamm *ḫu* "sagen" aus.

[54] Weitere, ganz ähnliche Formen liegen etwa mit *an-za-nu-ú-u* (KBo 21.82 I 9') und *za-aš-ni-u̯$_a$-šu-u* (ebd., I 5') vor, womit eine Analyse /an-za-(a)š/-Verbalstamm wahrscheinlich gemacht wird. Die Kombination vor Verbalpräfixen, die meist (-)za-aš- geschrieben werden, ist mehrfach nachweisbar, wobei /za/ auch in *tuḫ=za=šul* (KUB 28.4 Vs. 17a) mit nahezu identischer Bedeutung zum Präfix /ta/ (ebd.) vorliegen dürfte, also wohl ebenfalls lokal zu deuten ist. Ebenso kann ein Präfix /(V)š/, meist direkt vor der Wurzel stehen, d.h. in einer Position, wo auch /b/ bzw. /u̯/ auftreten, was auf eine Numerusmarkierung (des Objekts?) weist.

[55] Sie geht letztlich schon auf E. O. FORRER zurück; vgl. zuletzt GIRBAL (1986: 64f.); zum Lokativpräfix /zi/, das mehrfach im Wechsel mit /ka/ bei Nomen und Verbum auftritt, vgl. KAMMENHUBER (1969: 531) und GIRBAL (1986: ebd. c. n. 4).

[56] Vgl. dazu NEU (1989: 7).

[57] Vgl. zusammenfassend SCHUSTER (1974: 91f.). Dieselbe Schreibung ist auch in KUB 2.2 Vs. II 46 (vgl. KBo 19.162 Vs. 9f.) *ni-i-pu-pé-e zi-i-i*[*š* belegt, das mit *ii̯au̯eni-ma-aš* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} übersetzt wird.

das Schwarze Meer gemeint sein kann. Besonders deutlich wird dieser Zusammenhang in KUB 29.1-3, wo die "Regierung (und) Kutsche" (*maniịaḫḫain* GIŠ*ḫulugannin*) für den König von der hattischen Göttin Ḫalmašuit "vom Meere" (*arunaza*; KUB 29.1 Vs. I 23f.) gebracht wird; letzte Zweifel schließlich vermag der sogenannte Zalpa-Text (KBo 22.1 Vs. 3ff.; vgl. auch KUB 36.90 Vs. 31ff.) zu beseitigen, den noch älteren Anitta-Text bestätigend[58].

Die schon in diesen Beispielen anklingende enge Verknüpfung mythologischer Vorstellungen mit einer Art idealem, in Form einer direkten göttlichen Intervention sanktionierten Herrschaftsanspruch wird in seiner Relevanz für die "Königsideologie" prägnant illustriert durch die immer wiederkehrende Verwendung des Bildes vom Meer als Grenze des Herrschaftsbereiches des hattischen bzw. des hethitischen Königs in ganz unterschiedlichen mythisch-religiösen bzw. historischen Texten[59]. Einen besonderen Stellenwert hat dabei KBo 25.112 in Verbindung mit KUB 28.75, weil hier der hattische Ursprung unmittelbar durch die Form der Überlieferung verdeutlicht wird. Auch dort wird als äußerste Begrenzung des Machtbereiches des Königs "hier" und "dort" das Meer genannt, was sich nur auf die Landmasse Kleinasiens zwischen Schwarzem Meer und Mittelmeer beziehen kann: "sein Land, dort das Meer und hier das Meer die Grenze", KUR-*SÚ e-di a-ru-na-aš* [(*ke-e*)-*et-ta*] (6') *a-ru-na-aš* ZAG-*aš* (KBo 25.112 Vs. II 5'f.; erg. nach KBo 25.114 Vs. 3')[60]. Der entsprechende Abschnitt in hattischer Sprache ist nur fragmentarisch in KUB 28.75 (= StBoT 25 Nr. 113) Vs. II 15 erhalten, wo nach KUR-*SÚ* am Zeilenende noch hattisches *ta-ịa-a-an* folgt, während der Beginn der folgenden Zeile fast ganz abgerieben ist. Lediglich aus dem Duplikat KUB 28.77 Vs. II 10' könnte man schließen, daß der Text mit einem *ka-zi-in*[(-) fortgesetzt haben könnte[61], über dessen Bedeutung nur spekuliert werden kann[62].

[58] Es sei hier nur auf OTTEN (1973: 58ff.) und NEU (1974: 25, 119) verwiesen.

[59] Es ist hier nicht der Ort einer grundsätzlichen Auseinandersetzung mit den von STARKE (1979: 47ff.) vertretenen Thesen zur hethitischen "Königsideologie", da hierzu auf seine Textinterpretationen jeweils detailliert eingegangen werden müßte. Ich werde dies an anderer Stelle nachholen. Daß ich ihm in vielem, insbesondere in seiner Bewertung des hattischen Einflusses, nicht folgen kann, ist aber sicher schon deutlich geworden.

[60] Zu den Texten vgl. jetzt NEU (1980a) Nr. 112 bzw. 114; zur Stelle OTTEN (1963: 166) und NEU (1974: 71); zur abweichenden Ergänzung NEU (1980a: 196 n. 631) bzw. (1983: 98 c. n. 356) und ders. (1980b: 20ff., 50f.).

[61] Vgl. dazu schon LAROCHE (1947a: 197). Liegt hier eventuell das Wort für "Grenze" vor?

[62] Es sei nur daran erinnert, daß diese Texte, die dem Kult der "Götter von Zalpa" gewidmet sind (vgl. dazu FORLANINI [1984: 245ff.]), ebenfalls in direkter Verbindung zum Meer stehen (KBo 25.121 Vs. I 10').

Davon wird man die "Labarna-Heilsformel" nicht trennen wollen, die in der großreichszeitlichen Niederschrift eines ebenfalls auf hattische bzw. althethitische Traditionen zurückgehenden Festritualtextes erhalten ist[63].

KUB 11.23 Rs. VI[64]

1 [ ]*ma-a-an pár-ku-iš* DINGIR^{MEŠ}-*aš-ša*
2 [*iš-t*]*a-na-na-aš* ^{NINDA}*ḫar-ši-iš-ša*
3 ⸢*a*⸣-*pé-ni-iš-ša-an pár-ku-iš e-eš-du*
4 *la-bá-ar-na-aš-ma* LUGAL-*uš* AN.BAR-*aš*
5 ^{GIŠ}*šu-ši-i̯a-az-za-ke-el e-eš-du*
6 *nu* ^{URU}*Ḫa-ad-du-ša-an* KUR-*e*
7 *ḫar-ki ma-a-an* ^{GIŠ}*šu-ši-az-ke-el*
8 ⸢*ú*⸣-*e-da-ú nu ki-iz-za a-ru-na-aš*
9 [*i*]*r-ḫa-an ú-e-mi-iš-ki-id-du*
10 [*k*]*i-iz-z*[*i-i̯*]*a a-ru-na-aš*
11 [*i*]*r-ḫa-a*[*n*] *ú-e-mi-iš-ki-id-du*

Wie das reine [ ], soll ebenso auch das *ḫarši*-Brot der Götter und der Altäre rein sein. Der *labarna* aber, der König, soll ein *š.* aus Eisen sein. Wie das Land von Ḫattuša hell ist, so soll er aber das *š*[65]. herbeischaffen[66], (ebenso) soll er hier die Grenze des Meeres immer wie-

[63] Im *CHD* L-N, 41a wird der Text als "OH/NS" klassifiziert. Die Annahme von A. KAMMENHUBER, es handle sich hierbei um großreichszeitliche Vorstellungen, die nichts mit der älteren Tradition zu tun hätten und sich vielmehr auf die südliche bzw. ägäische Mittelmeerküste bezögen, hat wenig für sich. Vgl. noch WILHELM (1993: 4a), der den Text ebenfalls auf Schwarzes Meer und Mittelmeer bezieht.

[64] Zu diesem Text vgl. auch ARCHI (1979: 48) und KAMMENHUBER, *HW*² A, 351 (mit Verweis auf LAROCHE [1957: 13 c. n. 14] und FRIEDRICH [1930: 85 n. 4]). Die abweichende Umschrift dort mit KI.SIKIL wird nicht weiter begründet, wobei die hier gewählte Lesung durch den Instrumental in KUB 46.23+ Rs. IV 27' gesichert ist; das selten belegte Wort ^{GIŠ}*šuši̯az(za)kel* könnte gut hattischer Herkunft sein (vgl. auch KRONASSER, *EHS* I, 324). Auch wird man *Ḫattušan* nicht als "mit altertümelndem Sg. G." erklären können, da ein Gen. Pl. (!) auf *-an* hier in keiner Weise motiviert wäre. Naheliegender ist m.E. ein vom jh. Kopisten mißverstandener hatt. "Gen.", wie er etwa auch in ^{URU}*Ḫattušan teu̯ašhap* "der Stadt Ḫattuša ihre Götter" belegt ist.

[65] Da dieses Wort praktisch nur hier belegt ist, kann auf die Bedeutung lediglich aus dem Kontext geschlossen werden; H. KRONASSER dachte an ein Fahrzeug, vielleicht ein Schiff (*EHS* I, 324). Unklar ist mir, ob eine Verbindung zu dem in dem Beschwörungsritual KBo 17.90 Vs. II 8' belegten *ŠA* ^{GIŠ}MAR.GÍD.DA ^{GIŠ}*šu-ši-uk-k*[*i*(-) bzw. ^{GIŠ}*ŠU-ŠI-UK-K*[*I* besteht, das von H. OTTEN, ebd, S. VI als zu der akkad. Bezeichnung für eine Holzart *šaššugu, šuššūg/qu* (vgl. *AHw*, 1198) gehörig interpretiert wurde. Nach Kollation durch E. NEU, dem ich herzlich hierfür und für den Hinweis auf diesen Beleg danke, sind die Schreibungen mit AZ bzw. UG eindeutig.

[66] Der Sinn dieses Bildes ist mir nicht klar. KAMMENHUBER, *HW*² A, 351a übersetzt "Der Herrscher König aber soll von Eisen (5) und das *š.* rein sein. (6) Wie das Land von Ḫattuša (7) weiß (und) das *š.* rein...". Die Übersetzung von ARCHI (1979: 48) "e regga Hattusa (e) il paese" stellt *ḫarki* wohl zum Verbum *ḫark-* "haben, halten", dessen Imp. 2. Pers. jedoch

der erreichen (lit. finden)[67] und auch dort soll er die Grenze des Meeres immer wieder erreichen.

Diese Labarna-Heilsformel, als Rezitation Bestandteil eines Festrituals der bekannten und vielfältig dokumentierten Art, steht keineswegs isoliert im hethitischen Schrifttum; dieser Eindruck entsteht lediglich deshalb, weil KUB 11.23 die einzige wirklich gut erhaltene Quelle ist, neben der aber noch verschiedene andere, meist aber weitaus fragmentarischere, eventuell auch leicht abweichende Fassungen derselben Rezitation in anderen Festritualtexten überliefert sind. Vor allem relevant ist das Beispiel KUB 25.20 + KUB 46.23[68], da hier der Kontext weitgehend rekonstruierbar ist, so daß deutlich wird, wie die Rezitation in den Festritualablauf integriert war.

KUB 46.23 + KUB 25.20 Rs. IV[69] (10' = 6')

10' LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL-*kán INA* É ^{d}UT[U *a*]*n-da pa-an-zi*
11' LUGAL MUNUS.LUGAL *A-NA* DINGIR^{LIM} *UŠ-K*[*E-E*]*N-NU*
12' 1 UDU *A-NA* ^{d}UTU-*aš ḫi-in-ik-zi*
13' ^{LÚ}ALAM.ZU$_9$ *me-ma-i* ^{LÚ}*ki-i-ta-aš ḫal-za-a-i*
14' *an-na-la-az-za Ú-UL e-eš-ta*
15' ^{d}UTU^{ŠI}-*i̯a-at-kán* ^{m}*Tu-ut-ḫa-li-i̯a-aš*
16' LUGAL.GAL *da-a-i Ú-UL-an-kán ḫa-pu-uš-kán-zi*

17' UGULA $^{LÚ.MEŠ}$MUḪALDIM *túḫ-ḫu-*<*eš-*>*ni-it* ^{GIŠ}ZAG.GAR<.RA>-*an šu-up-pí-aḫ-ḫi*
18' GU$_4$$^{ḪI.A}$ UDU$^{ḪI.A}$-*i̯a šu-up-pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi*[70]

ḫar-ak geschrieben sein müßte. Gegen die Interpretation von ^{URU}*Ḫattušan* als Akk. spricht KUB 25.18 Vs. II 28' ^{URU}*Ḫa-at-*]*tu-ša-aš*. Auch die ersten Zeilen werden dort syntaktisch anders gefaßt: "Come [...] (è) puro, così sia puro l'altare ed il pane degli dèi".

[67] Interessanterweise verwendet der Text hier, wie in der Übersetzung der oben herangezogenen hattisch-hethitischen Bilingue, für "erreichen" ebenfalls das Verbum *u̯emii̯a-*.

[68] Auf die Parallelität der die Rezitation enthaltende Passage hat bereits OTTEN (1976: 299) aufmerksam gemacht. Die Einordnung von KUB 11.23 unter CTH 618.4 (mit der Bemerkung "analogue à 1" = KUB 25.18) erscheint mir noch etwas fraglich zu sein, da nicht der König selbst das Ritual ausführt, sondern der DUMU.LUGAL, was vor allem durch VI 12ff. deutlich wird, wo dieser die Handlung mit *tuḫḫueššar* ausführt, die sich an die Rezitation anschließt. Abgesehen davon lassen sich jetzt weitere, bisher unter CTH 669.9 gebuchte Texte dieser Gruppe zuordnen: KUB 11.20 I 5ff. bzw. KUB 11.25 III 1ff. (+) IBoT 2.96 (vgl. BECKMAN, IBoT 4, sub Nr. 98) sind parallel zu KUB 46.23 Vs. 12ff.; die in KUB 11.20 folgende Kol. ist mit II 12'-27' parallel zu KUB 25.20+ III 1'-4' usw.

[69] Zeilenzählung nach KUB 46.23, wobei hier Rs. III 5' der Zeile KUB 25.20 Rs. III$^{!}$ 1' entspricht. Eine Umschrift der Zeilen III 10'-16' bietet auch BADALÌ (1991: 72 Nr. 53), die jedoch stark korrekturbedürftig ist, insbesondere die Zeilen 11' und 16'.

[70] Vgl. dazu VBoT 22 (2') [*šu-up-*]*pí-i̯a-aḫ-ḫi šu-up-p*[*í-i̯a-aḫ-ḫu-u̯a-aš*] (3') [INIM^{ME}]^{Š} *kiš-an me-ma-i ne-p*[*í-iš* (4')]x *pár-ku-i-iš* ^{d}LAMMA-*aš-š*[*a*.

19' UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM *šu-up-pí-a[ḫ-ḫ]u-u̯a-aš* INIMḪI.A
20' *me-ma-i ne-*⌈*pí*⌉*-i[š*] *pár-ku-ú-i*
21' x x[ ]*a-ú* x x x[71]
22' (*iš*)*-pa*]*-an-du-zi*
23']*pár-ku-ú-iš*! x x
24' [(*la-ba-ar-na-aš-m*)]a LUGAL-*uš* AN.BAR-⌈*aš*⌉
25' [(GIŠ*šu-ši-i̯a-az-za-ke-el*)] *e-eš-du*
26' [(*nu* URU*Ḫa-ad-du-ša-an*)] KUR-*e-aš* GIŠMAR.GÍD.DA
27' [(*ma-a-an* GIŠ*šu-ši-az-k*)]*i-li-it ú-e-da-ú* x
28']x*-i̯a-an-za e-eš-du*
29' [(*nu ki-iz-za a-ru-na-*)]*an* ZAG-*an*
30' [(*ú-e-mi-iš-ki-id-*)]*du ki-iz-zi-i̯a*
31' [(*a-ru-na-aš* ZAG-*an ú-*)]*e-mi-eš-ki-du*

König (und) Königin gehen in den Tempel der Sonnengottheit. König (und) Königin verneigen sich zur Gottheit. Ein Schaf bringt man der Sonnengottheit dar. Der *Rezitator* spricht, der *kita*-Priester ruft. Früher war (es = das Opfer) nicht vorhanden. Meine Majestät Tutḫali̯a, der Großkönig, gibt es. Man erneuert es (!) nicht[72].
Der Aufseher der Köche reinigt mit *tuḫḫueššar* den Altar. Die Rinder und Schafe reinigt er. Der Aufseher der Köche spricht die Worte der Reinigung. (...)

Bis auf zweifellos vorhandene kleinere Abweichungen, die eine vollständige Rekonstruktion des Textes leider verhindern, entsprechen sich beide Rezitationen[73]. Deutlich wird, daß die Segenswünsche für den König Bestandteil eines umfangreicheren Textes sind und in den Zusammenhang einer kultischen Reinigung des Altars und der Opfertiere (Rinder und Schafe) gehören, die hier vom UGULA LÚ.MEŠMUḪALDIM, der wohl auch spricht, unter Verwendung der Reinigungssubstanz *tuḫḫueššar* durchgeführt wird[74], und an die sich "eine als symbolische Selbstreinigung interpretierbare Handlung" — in der

[71] Die Zeichen sehen aus wie LI EŠ IŠ.

[72] Zu entsprechenden Passagen als Erweiterungen von Festritualen in jüngerer Zeit vgl. KÜHNE (1993: 238 c. n. 60).

[73] Auch KUB 25.18 (CTH 618.1) II 21'ff. enthält noch ganz fragmentarische Reste der Rezitation. Vgl. dazu KÜHNE (1993: 236 n. 53), der auf die Passage in KUB 25.18 verweist (als II 21'-31') und sie, ohne auf die vollständige Fassung in KUB 11.23 einzugehen, neben eine weitere Version in KUB 20.85 (+) 48 I stellt, die mit "Zz. 20'-32'" zitiert wird. Das muß sich m.E. auf ein weiteres indirektes Anschlußstück zu KUB 20.85 I beziehen, da er auf KUB 20.45 mit der Zählung "'" verweist, das jedoch nicht genannt und mir leider auch nicht bekannt ist.

[74] Mit dieser Zeremonie unter Verwendung der vieldiskutierten Reinigungsmaterie *tuḫḫueššar* hat sich KÜHNE (1993: 230ff.) ausführlich beschäftigt. Unter Verweis auch auf unsere Textstelle definiert er den mit *tuḫḫuešnit šuppii̯aḫḫ-* bezeichneten Vorgang als "mit dem (vorher angelagertes Weihwasser abgebenden, zudem vielleicht auch noch selbst wirkkräftigen) *t*[*uḫḫueššar*] rituell reinigen" (ebd., 232 c. n. 32).

Regel des Königs[75] — anschließt. Darüber hinaus erfahren wir durch diesen Text nicht nur etwas über den rituellen Zusammenhang der Rezitation, sondern auch ihre hethitische Bezeichnung als *šuppii̯aḫḫuu̯aš* INIM$^{HI.A}$ "Worte der Reinigung", die mit der Funktion in Verbindung stehen und kein Titel sein dürfte. Einen entsprechenden Hinweis auf die eine rituelle Handlung begleitende Rezitation taucht auch in anderen Festritualtexten auf, so in KUB 20.59 Vs. I 14'f. oder IBoT 1.2 II 6f.: in beiden Fällen handelt es sich um dieselbe rituelle Handlung, allerdings ohne daß der Spruch selbst aufgezeichnet wurde[76].

Vor allem das erste zitierte Beispiel macht klar, was mit "der Grenze des Meeres" gemeint ist: alles Land, das der König beherrscht, soll nur von den Meeren begrenzt werden, d.h. daß das Meer die Grenze des Landes sein soll[77].

Von der den hier herangezogenen Texten zugrundeliegenden Vorstellung ist der Weg nicht mehr weit zum Topos des Telipinu-Erlasses, in dem ebenfalls der Ausdruck "Grenze des Meeres" eine wesentliche Rolle spielt, nämlich "er machte sie (die Länder) zu Grenzen des Meeres" *nu=uš arunaš irḫuš iet*[78], auch wenn eine historische Realisation dieses idealen Machtanspruchs nach unserem derzeitigen Kenntnisstand in bezug auf die anatolische Geschichte vor dem hethitischen Alten Reich kaum gegeben gewesen sein dürfte. Andererseits existierte mit dem Herrschaftsgebiet, das Anitta unter seine Kontrolle brachte, und seiner Anerkennung als eine Art Oberherr der anatolischen Fürsten bereits ein Machtfaktor, der nicht allzuviel hinter der Wunschvorstellung eines das Land zwischen den Meeren in einer Hand vereinenden Herrschers zurückblieb[79]. Insofern wird man, so denke ich, den Einwand gegen eine

[75] So wiederum KÜHNE (1993: 232); vgl. noch ebd., 233 n. 36, wo darauf hingewiesen wird, daß diese Handlung auch von der Königin bzw. dem Prinzen ausgeführt werden kann. Letzteres dürfte dann für unseren Ausgangstext KUB 11.23 gelten.

[76] Zur Handlung in KUB 20.59 vgl. KÜHNE (1993: 234f.), zum Text selbst POPKO – TARACHA (1988: 88 c. n. 15).

[77] Vgl. auch die ältere Übersetzung von OTTEN (1964: 117) "Sein Land [möge] auf dieser Seite das Meer [und auf jener Seite] das Meer als Grenze [haben]".

[78] Vgl. KAMMENHUBER, *HW*² A, 351a. Wäre dann entsprechend KUB 26.71 IV 14 LUGAL-*uš arunan arḫan IṢBAT* auch eher als partitive Apposition "der König ergriff die Grenze des Meeres" zu verstehen, wie sie ja auch in KUB 46.23 + IV 29 scheinbar vorliegt? Man würde hier gerne noch den Beleg aus KUB 57.63 (mit Paralleltext KUB 57.60) Rs. III 13'f. heranziehen, was aber daran scheitert, daß eine Ergänzung]⸢*a*⸣-*ru-na-an* mit der erhaltenen Zeichenspur nicht vereinbar ist; vgl. dazu ARCHI (1988: 22, 31).

[79] Zur Rolle des Meeres in der Frühgeschichte der Hethiter vgl. den Überblick bei VON SCHULER (1965b: 21f.) sowie MERIGGI (1962, 80ff.) und WILHELM (1993: 3f.).

solche Interpretation von A. Kammenhuber, daß "keinerlei Anhaltspunkte vorliegen, daß die Hattier je Siedlungen oder Herrschaftsansprüche bis zum Mittelmeer gehabt haben"[80], relativieren dürfen.

Nicht weiter erstaunlich ist, daß das Meer auch in den hattischen Mythen als Schauplatz bzw. Ort der Handlung eine gewisse Rolle spielt; außer dem Zalpa-Text und KUB 29.1-3 wären hier vor allem noch der Illujanka-Mythos, wo das Meeresufer Ort des Kampfes zwischen dem Wettergott und dem Drachen ist, oder der Mythos vom Verschwinden der Sonnengottheit (CTH 323) zu nennen.

Relativ selten erscheint das Meer allerdings als handelnde Person in mythischen Texten[81]. Praktisch als einziger wäre der Mythos "Telipinu und die Tochter des Meeres" (CTH 322[82]) einschlägig, der sich auch sehr gut in die hattische Mythologie einfügt; schließlich läßt sich durch die Entdeckung des hattischen Wortes für "Meer" eine bereits von Ch. Girbal geäußerte Vermutung, nämlich daß der Name der Frau des Telipinu, Ḫatepinu, schlicht "Tochter des Meeres" bedeutet[83], stützen. Trotz einiger relativ gut erhaltener Passagen und der Tatsache, daß gerade die Frage einer Heirat zwischen dem Sohn des Wettergottes und der Tochter des Meeres eine wesentliche Rolle in diesem Mythos spielt, gibt es keinen expliziten Hinweis auf das Geschlecht des Meeres, man ist jedoch aufgrund des Inhalts davon ausgegangen, daß das Meer als mächtiger Opponent des Wettergottes und Bezwinger des Sonnengottes männlich zu denken ist[84].

[80] So in *HW²* A, 351a im Zusammenhang mit einer Kritik an der Übersetzung von H. OTTEN von KBo 25.112. In *HW²* E 139a (sub *edi*) verweist A. KAMMENHUBER lediglich auf ihre frühere Behandlung der Stelle, obwohl sie dort *ket* gar nicht berücksichtigt und *edi* mit "diesseits" übersetzt hatte, wofür jetzt aber die Bedeutung "jenseits, auf jene(r) Seite" angegeben wird.

[81] Entgegen mehrfach geäußerter anderer Meinung (vgl. etwa VON SCHULER [1965a: 186], wo die Mythen nicht nach ihrer Herkunft differenziert werden) sehe ich keine Möglichkeit, das Geschlecht des Meeres in den hattischen Mythen definitiv zu bestimmen, da der Ullikummi-Mythos hier nicht relevant ist. Worauf das "daughter" bei PUHVEL (1981: 253) und ders. (1984: 180) zurückgeht, ist mir, abgesehen von der vermeintlichen Abstammung von Kamrušepa, auf die gleich noch einzugehen sein wird, nicht klar.

[82] Der etwas besser erhaltene Haupttext KUB 12.60 ist in einer jh. Abschrift erhalten, während das kleinere Fragment KUB 33.81 eine mh. Niederschrift darstellt; die Textkomposition dürfte aber bereits ah. sein (vgl. auch NEU [1990a: 210f.]). Dem ließe sich jetzt noch KBo 26.128, sollte dieses Fragment tatsächlich hier einzuordnen sein, an die Seite stellen, das als mh. Niederschrift ebenfalls eine frühere Redaktionsstufe bezeugt.

[83] Ch. GIRBAL bei HAAS (1982: 26, 217 n. 38). Allerdings ist diese Deutung nicht ganz ohne Probleme mit Ch. GIRBALS System der "Possessivanzeiger" zu vereinbaren, wo er das Beispiel leider nicht aufgegriffen hat, obwohl er gerade auch verschiedene Fälle der Verwendung in Verbindung mit Götternamen diskutiert (vgl. GIRBAL [1986: 141ff.]). Folgt man Ch. GIRBAL in seiner Analyse, dann müßte das Meer entweder neutrum sein oder beide Genera umfassen.

[84] Zum Inhalt des Mythos vgl. NEU (1990b: 101) und ders. (1990a: 211f.).

Weniger eindeutig scheint mir der Fall bei einem weiteren Text, KUB 17.8 Rs. IV, zu sein, der jedoch sehr häufig im Zusammenhang mit der mythischen Rolle des Meeres herangezogen wird, da hier scheinbar die bekannte Göttin Kamrušepa als Mutter des Meeres auftritt. Diese Ansicht geht letztlich auf C.G. von Brandenstein zurück, indem man IV 15 *nu=u̯ar=an arunaš punuškizzi* "und ihn befragt(e) immer wieder das Meer" und IV 20 *nu=u̯ar=aš* AMA-*ni* ᵈ*Kamrušipi piran tiet* "und er trat hin vor die Mutter Kamrušepa" kombiniert hat. Jedoch ist die Passage m.E. vielmehr so zu verstehen, daß die namentlich im erhaltenen Text nicht genannte Hauptperson einerseits vom Meer befragt wird, andererseits von dort mit Hilfe einer 9-stufigen Leiter in den Himmel hinaufsteigt, wo ihn (oder sie) die "Mutter" Kamrušepa erwartet, die schon in IV 1 vom Himmel herab Ausschau hält. Ob der Text freilich, trotz der an das sogenannte Kattaḫziu̯uri-Mythologem[85] anklingenden Eingangszeile, tatsächlich in seiner überlieferten Form der hattischen Kultschicht zuzuweisen ist, bleibt fraglich[86]. Vielmehr ist hier ein starker Einfluß luwischer Traditionen zu erkennen, wo Kamrušepa als Gattin des Sonnengottes und Mutter des ᵈLAMMA von Tauriša auftritt[87]. Hierzu gehört auch der Text KBo 9.127 + KUB 36.41[88], so daß hier nicht mit Sicherheit davon ausgegangen werden kann, daß mit dem Meer entsprechend den hattischen Traditionen ebenfalls noch das Schwarze Meer und nicht etwa das Mittelmeer gemeint ist.

[85] Vgl. dazu del MONTE (1979: 109ff.), zu KUB 17.8 IV 1-3, ebd., 117.

[86] Vgl. auch STARKE (1985: 217): "Abschließend ist darauf hinzuweisen, daß den k.-luw. Schwangerschaftsbeschwörungen mehrere heth. abgefaßte Beschwörungen nahestehen, die mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit ebenfalls auf k.-luw. Vorlagen zurückgehen". Genannt wird u.a. KUB 17.8 IV.

[87] Vgl. zu diesen Texten vor allem STARKE (1985: 202ff.), zu Kamrušepa als Mutter besonders ebd., 206f. c. n. 9.

[88] Die Sonderstellung gerade auch dieses Textes im Rahmen der luwischen Schwangerschaftsbeschwörungen unterstreicht wiederum STARKE (1985: 220f.), der hierin eventuell das Beispiel für "die Herausbildung einer heth. Tradition" (ebd., 221) vermutet, die dann als aus ganz unterschiedlichen Quellen gespeist, nämlich einer relativ jüngeren luwischen und einer relativ älteren, letztlich direkt auf hattische Traditionen zurückgehende, zu interpretieren sein könnte. In diesem Zusammenhang sei auch nochmals an die Bezüge zur hattischen Mythologie im Geburtsritual KUB 30.29 (vgl. BECKMAN [1983: 22ff.]) erinnert.

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ASPECTS OF CUNEIFORM LUVIAN NOMINAL INFLECTION

H. Craig MELCHERT

1. Relational adjectives in *-aššanza-*

CLuvian relational adjectives in *-ašša/i-* show ordinary ablative-instrumental forms in *-aššati* and by-forms in *-aššanzati*. The latter have previously been interpreted as ablative-instrumental plural: tentatively by Laroche (1959: 138), explicitly by Kammenhuber (1969: 307) who speaks of a "plural infix", by Neumann (1982: 159), and by others. Laroche, Kammenhuber, and others also interpret the ending *-anzan* (1x in *malḫaššaššanzan*) as a genitive plural, with the same inserted element *-nz-*, and the equivalent of the Old Hittite genitive plural ending *-an*.

The identification of the inserted element *-nz-* in these examples with the plural ending *-nz(a)* of the CLuvian animate accusative plural and dative plural seems unquestionable. The reading of the forms in *-aššan-zati* as plurals also seems compatible with the contexts in which they occur, although in most cases there is no positive evidence for a plural sense. However, there are difficulties with this received interpretation. These have even led Starke (1982: 414ff) to question the authenticity of the *-nz-* forms.

The first problem is: if there was a tendency in CLuvian to extend the distinction of singular/plural to the ablative-instrumental, it is surprising that this development is restricted just to relational adjectives in *-ašša/i-* (see already Starke). One would expect to find such forms in other adjectives and in nouns. Second, and more seriously, the interpretation of other examples of inserted *-nz-* as plurals cannot possibly be correct.

We may begin with the example *malḫaššaššanzan* EN-*ya* (*KUB* XXXV 39 iii 25). Already Mittelberger (1963: 90f) had identified the ending *-an* of adjectives in *-ašša/i-* as dative singular, citing three examples from HLuvian and at least one in CLuvian (*immaraššan* ^{d}IŠKUR-*ti* "to the Storm-god of the open country", *KUB* XXXV 54 ii 37). The identification of *-aššan* as dative singular has now been fully confirmed by additional evidence from HLuvian, assembled by Morpurgo Davies (1980: 123ff). Morpurgo Davies, writing in 1980, was cautious about attributing *-aššan* to CLuvian, but we may now add at least one more

certain example: *wallunaš<š>an wāni* "to the woman of lifting", i.e. "midwife" (*KUB* XXXV 88 iii 12). For this example see Starke (1982: 414[31a]), who also now properly emends *imrašša* dIŠKUR-*ti* of *KUB* XXXV 54 ii 35 to *imrašša<n>* after the correct *immaraššan* dIŠKUR-*ti* two lines later. He explicitly states that *-(ašš)an* marks dative singular (see also Starke 1985: 67 with note 25). If *-an* is the dative singular ending of *-ašša/i-* adjectives, then *malḫaššaššanzan* EN-*ya* must be dative singular as well (note the ending of EN-*ya*!)[1].

We also have examples ending in *-anzanza*: dEN.ZU-*anzanza* (*KUB* XXXV 103 ii 11) and *[mal]ḫaššaššanzanza* EN-*anz[a]* (*KUB* XXXV 78,7). Here the final *-anza* already marks dative plural, making it highly unlikely that the preceding *-anz-* also indicates plural. Starke (1985: *passim*) consistently emends all forms with *-anz-* except ablative-instrumentals, deleting the final *-anza* of the last two examples cited as dittography and also correcting *malḫaššaššanzan* to simply *malḫaššaššan*. He also reads the two instances SÍSKUR-*aššanza* (EN-*ya*) (*KUB* XXXV 45 ii 7) and EN SÍSKUR-*anza* (*KUB* XXXV 59,7) as *-(ašš)an*. See also his discussion in Starke (1982: 414f with note 33) and (1990: 39ff).

The ablative-instrumental forms, however, prove that an inserted element *-nz-* exists. In view of this it is highly suspect that three different types of scribal error (dittography of final *-anza*, an extra final *-za-an*, and an extra final *-za*) all conspire to produce a formant *-nz-* elsewhere. It is particularly hard to see the motivation for the last two alleged errors. As Starke's edition shows, the Hittite scribes were often quite careless in writing Luvian, but nearly all the errors consist of **omission** of signs. The manuscript *KUB* XXXV 45 shows nine examples of omitted signs, including some in the Hittite portion (see Starke 1985: 151ff)[2]. This pattern strongly suggests that SÍSKUR-*aššanza* at *KUB* XXXV 45 ii 7 should be emended not to SÍSKUR-*aššan*, but rather to SÍSKUR-*aššanza<n>*, matching attested *malḫaššaššanzan*. Likewise we should read EN SÍSKUR-*anza<n>* in *KUB* XXXV 59,7. Recall the necessary emendation of *imrašša* to *imrašša<n>* in *KUB* XXXV 54 ii 35 cited above. The forms in *-aššanzan* and *-aššanzanza* are real, and they must be explained along with those in *-aššanzati*.

[1] The source of the unusual dative ending *-(ašš)an* remains unknown. As pointed out by Starke (1990: 41), the explanation offered by Morpurgo Davies is problematic for CLuvian, but his own derivation from an archaic locatival **-en* accounts neither for the restriction to *-ašša/i-* adjectives nor for the exclusively **dative** function.

[2] There is one case of an omitted sign which is missed by Starke and earlier editors. In line ii 1, instead of the inexplicable *pu-ú-wa-la-a*, we should read *pu-ú-wa-<ti>-il*. For both the combination *puwatil pariyanallan* "past and future" and the shape of the sign *il* see *KUB* XXXV 43 iii 30.

I believe that the interpretation of inserted *-nz-* as a plural marker is correct, but not in the sense previously assumed. The overall usage of these forms argues that they mark genitive plural: i.e., they indicate plural number not of the noun modified by the relational adjective, but of the base noun, i.e. the modifying noun.

The strongest evidence for this interpretation is found in *KUB* XXXV 103 ii 11-12 and iii 1-3 (see Starke 1985: 222)[3]: *[iū]nni=wa* ^{d}EN.ZU-*anzanza kummaya[nza ḫat]ayannanza āpan ḫizzaun[ni]...[p]a=wa iyandu* ^{d}EN.ZU-*inzi* x[...] *kummayanza ḫatayannanza apan ḫizzaindu*. The two sentences are obviously completely parallel in structure, except that the first sentence is first person plural, referring to the worshippers, while the second is third person plural, with ^{d}EN.ZU-*inzi* as subject. As per Starke (1990: 544[2014]), the plural ^{d}EN.ZU-*inzi* cannot belong to the noun "Moon-god", which is consistently a singular *a*-stem *Arma-* in the Anatolian languages. I therefore follow him in assuming an underlying *^{d}*Armaššali-* "of the moon", substantivized to "month" (note the context of a birth ritual).

The nominative plural ^{d}EN.ZU-*inzi* (= *^{d}*Armaššinzi*) establishes beyond doubt that the reference of ^{d}EN.ZU-*anzanza* is also plural. We must understand: "Let us go and hand him over/entrust him to the holy *ḫatayanni-* of the months...let the months entrust him to (their) holy *ḫatayanni*". The adjective ^{d}EN.ZU-*anzanza* (= **Armaššaššanzanza*) is perfectly well-formed: the first *-nz-* marks the modifier (possessor) as plural, while the final *-anz(a)* marks the adjective as agreeing with the modified noun *ḫatayannanza*. Given this certain example, we may also interpret *[mal]ḫaššaššanzanza* EN-*anz[a]* of *KUB* XXXV 78,7 as "to the lords of the sacrifices" (i.e. the clients), again perfectly grammatical.

The presence of both plural marker *-nz-* and dative singular *-an* in *malḫaššaššan-zan* EN-*ya* (*KUB* XXXV 39 iii 25) is now also explainable: the phrase can mean simply "to the lord of the sacrifices". Once again *-nz-* marks the number of the modifier, while the case ending *-an*, as expected, marks the adjective as agreeing in case and number with the modified noun EN-*ya*. Actually, since we find consistently *malḫaššaššanzan* EN-*ya* (likewise emend SÍSKUR-*aššanza* to *-aššanza<n>* as per above), it is likely that we should still translate "lord(s) of the sacrifice". The word *malḫašša-* "sacrifice" is probably a collective *plurale tantum*, as already suggested by Laroche (1959: 66). The standard writing of the

[3] Pace STARKE, the parallel structure demands the reading and restoration *kum-ma-ya-a[n-za]* in ii 11.

logogram as repeated SISKUR.SISKUR (read now SÍSKUR) may be an intentional device to indicate the collective plural.

Similarly, the phrase *[pa]rnaššanzanza* DINGIR.MEŠ-*anz[a]* of *KBo* XXII 254 Rs 6 (Starke 1985: 195) could be taken as "to the gods of the houses", but in view of other evidence for "house" as a collective plural in Luvian (see HLuvian *za-ya* DOMUS-*na* "this house" in KULULU 1) we should probably understand this also as "to the gods of the house", again with a grammatical plural functioning as a collective.

A reexamination of the ablative-instrumentals in *-aššanzati* shows that they also refer to the number of the modifier, not the modified noun. The phrase DINGIR.MEŠ-*aššanzati waššaraḫitati* (*KUB* XXXV 45 ii 9 etc.) obviously means "with/by the favor of the gods", where the plural reference of the modifier is assured, while the abstract in *-aḫit-* is most naturally taken as a generic singular. Compare also the common phrase *taparuwaššanzat[i d]ātariyamn[ašša]nzati ḫirutašša[nzati] mayaššanzati* EME-*ti* (*KUB* XXXII 9+ Rs 33-34; Starke 1985: 90): "from the tongue of the *taparu-*, the curses, the oaths, and the *maya-*". The nominative form of the same phrase shows first of all that the modified noun "tongue" is singular in Luvian: cf. *ḫirutašš[i]š* EME-*i[š] ibid.* Vs 8f (Starke 1985: 87). Therefore *-aššanzati* EME-*ti* cannot be grammatically "from the tongues of...". On the other hand, *KUB* IX 6+ ii 13 establishes that the number of the first three modifiers is often plural: *tapāruwa ḫīrūta tatarriyamna* "the *taparu*'s, the oaths and the curses"[4]. While I agree with Laroche (1959: 65) that CLuvian *mayašša/i-* EME-*i-* equates functionally to Hittite *pangawaš lala-* "tongue of the community, common gossip", the referent in CLuvian is probably plural: **mainzi* "adult males", formally matching Hittite *māēš* and functionally matching the collective sense of *panku-*[5].

[4] The occurrence of all three nouns beside each other in the nominative (both singular and plural are attested) means that we must take them as coordinated also in the adjectival phrase. I therefore cannot follow NEUMANN (1982: 152), who interprets *tatariyamnašša/i-* as dependent on *ḫirutašša/i-*. We must read rather "lord of the curses (and) oaths". This does not, of course, falsify his manifestly correct general claim that one *-ašša/i-* adjective may depend on another.

[5] For Hittite *pangawaš lalaš* as "tongue of the totality/community, common gossip" see BECKMAN (1982: 437). I believe we may safely assume that in second-millennium Anatolia the community which mattered consisted of the (free) adult males. Hence the Luvian expression "tongue(s) of the adult males" is equivalent to the Hittite. The Lycian institution of the *miñtis* undoubtedly owes its name also to the fact that it was composed of the adult males of the community. For the derivation of *miñt(i)-* from **miyant(i)-* see already LAROCHE (1963: 78). I reject, however, his derivation of CLuvian *maya(šša/i)-* etc. from **meĝh_2-* "much" in favor of his earlier derivation from the root **meh$_1$(i)-* "grow, mature". STARKE (1985: 254) strangely reads *māēš* as Luvian, but the word is

In the expression *dawaššanzati tititati* (*KUB* XXXV 48 ii 14 etc.) both modifier and modified likely have plural reference: "from the pupils of the eyes". It is not surprising that one also finds the corresponding singular *dawaššati tititati* (*KUB* XXXII 14+, 8) "from the pupil of the eye".

Other examples of adjectives in *-ašša/i-* with inserted *-nz-* are in contexts too fragmentary to determine the number of the modifier, but there is nothing in their usage which is incompatible with the interpretation established for them above. In *KUB* XXXV 43 ii 37f (Starke 1985: 145) we find the expression *malḫaššaššiš=pa=tar* EN-*aš apāššanza waššinanza [(mammannaddu)]*... "But let the lord of the sacrifice look upon his (own) limbs"[6]. On the basis of this and other preserved examples, Starke (1985: 89 and 119) emends the *[(apa)]ššanzanza* of *KUB* XXXV 21 ii 12 and XXXII 8+5 iv 13 to simple *apaššanza*. However, the subject and verb are missing in both examples with *apaššanzanza*, and nothing prevents a restoration *[malḫaššaššinzi* EN-*anzi*...*mammannandu]* "Let the lords of the sacrifice look upon their limbs"[7]. For a plural "lords of the sacrifice" see *KUB* XXXV 78,7 *[mal]ḫaššanzanza* EN-*anz[a]* (dative plural) referred to above and other examples cited by Starke (1990: 39), whose attempt to dismiss all such cases as misunderstandings is not credible.

The dative singular ^{d}UTU-*šanza[n]* (*KUB* XXXV 90,7; Starke 1985: 246) is perfectly well-formed and may mean "to the [ ] of the Sun-gods". The reference to more than one Sun-god is unusual, but hardly disturbing. There is certainly no dearth of solar deities in second-millennium Anatolia: we know of at least the Sun-god of heaven, the Sun-goddess of Arinna, and the solar deity of earth from Hittite sources.

perfectly regular Hittite, as is the dat.-loc. plural *māy[aš]* which is to be restored six lines earlier. See also nom. sg. ^{LÚ}*mayaš* at *KUB* XXXI 61 + XXVI 61 ii 8. Hittite *maya-* (extended *mayant-*) is cognate with CLuvian **maya-* "adult male" contained in *mayašša/i-*, from a preform **móh$_1$y-o-* (see Melchert 1984: 46 for details). Lycian *miñt(i)-* from **miyant(i)-* matches the Hittite participle *miyant-* "grown, mature" with the "motion-suffix" *-i-*. HLuvian *mi-ya-ti-zi u-si-zi* (KARATEPE 293-294) certainly means "many years" in context, but this may also be derived from *miyant(i)-* "full-grown, mature". Compare the Hittite expression *dalugaeš* MU.KAM.ḪI.A-*eš* "long years".

[6] The plural *waššinanza* to *waššina/i-* "body" would seem to require a plural possessor, but this seems impossible in the fully preserved passage with EN-*aš* as the subject. There is no plural referent in the preceding context which could serve as the antecedent of *apašša/i-*. I therefore assume the same double usage for *waššina/i-* as for Hittite *tuekka-*: singular "body" but also plural "limbs, members".

[7] Starke (1985: 119) naturally restores the verb in *KUB* XXXII 8+5 iv 14 as singular *[ma-am-ma-an-na-a]d-du*, but only the final vertical of the broken sign is preserved, so that we also may read *[ma-am-ma-an-na-a]n-du*.

The adjective [URU*Kap*]*lawiyaššazati* in *KUB* XXXV 30-31 ii 4 obviously cannot refer to more than one city, but the derived adjective *Kaplawiyašša/i-* would mean "Kaplawiyan", permitting an interpretation "with/from [ ] of the Kaplawiyans"[8].

The above analysis of inserted *-nz-* as marking plural number of the modifier rather than the modified is the only one which can account for the combinations *-aššanzan* and *-aššanzanza*, and it is consistent with all occurrences of *-aššanzati*. It also provides an immediate explanation for why *-nz-* occurs only in the relational adjective in *-ašša/i-*. The principal use of these stems in Luvian is to express a genitival relationship (Starke 1985: *passim* terms them "Adj. gen."; likewise Neumann 1982: 150ff). This function is particularly important in CLuvian, where so far as we can tell the genitive case of the noun has been entirely lost. One disadvantage of the use of the relational adjective instead of a case form of the noun is that there is no means for distinguishing the number of the possessor. In order to meet this need, the plural ending *-nz(a)* was added to stems in *-ašša-* in front of the non-direct case endings[9].

One question which immediately arises is why this device was applied only to the dative (singular and plural) and the ablative-instrumental. We do not find the inserted marker *-nz-* in the nominative and accusative forms of *-ašša/i-*. I believe the answer to this problem lies in the shape of the respective case endings. The very limited evidence for consonant stems in CLuvian makes segmentation of stems and case endings rather ambiguous, but we may reasonably suppose that the dative plural and ablative-instrumental endings are inherently *-anz(a)* and *-ati*. The unique ending of the dative singular *-aššan* may also be taken as *-an*, though we can hardly prove this segmentation. Thus in these three cases the insertion of *-nz-* between the stem *-ašša-* and endings with initial vowel causes no formal difficulties: *-ašša-nz-an*, *-ašša-nz-anz(a)*, and *-ašša-nz-ati*. However, in the animate nominative and accusative singular we find *-aš, -iš, -uš* and *-an, -in, -un*. Likewise animate nominative and

[8] STARKE (1985: 154) reads in *KUB* XXXV 45 iii 8: *[...(kuwar)šaššanzat]i tūl[iyaššanz]ati*. This reading and restoration is quite possible, but by no means assured. The ending of the first adjective is entirely restored, while one could read the second instead as *tu-ú-l[i-ya-aš-ša]-a-ti* (which would fill the space). If the forms in *-aššanzati* are real, the use of the plural marker *-nz-* could be due to the collective sense of the base nouns: *tūliya-* "assembly" is assured, and the frequent pairing with *kuwarša-* in sets of merisms argues that the latter is a corresponding unit referring to a group of people, whatever its precise sense. My suggestion "military division" as opposed to the *tūliya-* as "(civilian) assembly" (MELCHERT 1993: 117) is a mere guess.

[9] As per STARKE (1990: 44), the animate accusative and dative plural endings are /-nts/ and /-ants/. The final *-a* is merely graphic.

accusative plural *-anzi, -inzi* and *-anz(a), -inz(a)*. This pattern suggests that the endings here are *-š, -n, -nzi* and *-nz(a)* without inherent vowel, the latter belonging to the respective stems. In these cases, then, insertion of *-nz-* between stem and ending would have led either to unacceptable sequences (acc. sg. **-ašši-nz-n*) or to running together of the *-nz-* and the case ending (nom. sg. **-ašši-nz-š*, i.e. /-assints/, nom. pl. **-ašši-nz-nzi*, i.e. /-assintsi/, etc.).

It is true that in the case of the *-ašša-* adjectives the *-i-* of the animate nominative and accusative endings is not an inherent part of the stem, but rather a "motion-suffix", as established by Starke (1990: 59ff). However, as he shows, the function of this suffix is to mark overtly the animate gender of the stem. To insert the number marker *-nz-* in front of the *i*-suffix would violate the general principle that inflectional affixes do not occur inside derivational affixes. We would therefore not expect to find **-ašša-nz-i-š* and so forth.

Insertion of the marker *-nz-* into the neuter nominative and accusative singular and plural would also have been problematic. The basic neuter nom.-acc. singular of *-ašša-* is *-aššan*. Insertion of *-nz-* here would have led to *-ašša-nz-an*, identical with the dative singular. Moreover, the neuter nom.-acc. singular of stems in *-ašša-* is not usually mere *-aššan*, but rather *-aššan-za*, with an added particle *-ša* which regularly becomes *-za* after nasal[10]. Thus insertion of *-nz-* marking plural of the possessor into the neuter nom.-acc. plural *-ašša* would have led to *-ašša-nz-a*, homophonous with the usual neuter nom.-acc. singular. Under these circumstances the absence of inserted *-nz-* in the nominative and accusative is not hard to understand.

To summarize: forms of the CLuvian *-ašša/i-* adjectives in *-aššanzan*, *-aššanzanza*, and *-aššanzati* are real. The marker *-nz-*, borrowed from the animate plural case endings, is inserted between stem and regular case ending to indicate plurality of the possessor, not that of the modified noun.

2. Third person enclitic pronoun *-aš*

Laroche (1959: 141) lists *-aš* as the animate nominative singular of the third person enclitic pronoun, and it is well attested in this function.

[10] Contra STARKE (1990: 46ff) it is quite clear that the case ending in *-ša* (*a*-stem *-anza*) marks neuter nominative-accusative **singular**, not plural! See now ARBEITMAN (1992, especially 12ff).

He lists *-ata* not only as neuter nominative-accusative singular and plural, but also as animate nominative and accusative plural.

Evidence for *-ata* as anim. nom. plural is scarce, but there is at least one sure example (*KBo* IV 11,46; Starke 1985: 341): *aḫḫa=ata=ta alati awienta wilušati* "When they came from steep Wilusa"[11]. The initial sequence is to be analyzed with Laroche (1959: 22) and Watkins as *aḫḫa* "when" + *-ata* "they" + *-tta* (functionally = Hitt. *-kan*). The particle *-tta* is usually written with a geminate, but other single spellings occur. Given the Hittite scribes' penchant for omitting signs in CLuvian texts, one could emend to *aḫ-ḫa-ta-<at>-ta*, but this is not strictly necessary. In any case, there is no justification for the assumption that *aḫ-ḫa-ta-ta* is an error for *aḫ-ḫa-at-ta* (i.e. simply *aḫḫa=tta*), as suggested by Starke (1985: 341[173]). We may thus accept *-ata* as anim. nom. plural "they".

On the other hand, in repeated readings of the CLuvian corpus in Starke 1985 I have been unable to find a single occurrence of *-ata* which suggests an interpretation as animate accusative plural. This absence could be due to chance, but it certainly brings into question Laroche's assignment of *-ata* to this functional role.

Our doubts increase when we find examples of enclitic *-aš* which cannot possibly be read as animate nominative singular. A close examination of these examples shows that they in fact must be interpreted as animate accusative plural.

We may begin with *KUB* XXXV 88 iii 11-12 (Starke 1985: 227): *upatta=pa=wa=du šarriyanin 2-šu 9-u[(n)-za] anta=wa=aš=ta walluna<š>šan wāni uppanta* "He granted her eighteen *sarriyani*. They brought them into the 'woman of lifting' (midwife)"[12]. Starke, to whom we owe identification of *wāni* as "woman", translates the second sentence as: "Man schickte hinein nach der Frau des Hebens" (Starke 1985: 207). This translation surprisingly leaves the transitive verb *uppa-* "bring" without an object and also leaves *-aš* untranslated. The conclusion is obvious: *-aš* is the missing object, animate accusative plural "them", referring to the eighteen objects named in the preceding sentence (*šarriyanin* is of course animate). Note that an interpretation of *-aš* as anim. nom. singular is excluded by the plural verb. Nor can *-aš* be anim. nom. plural, since that function is filled by *-ata*.

[11] For the details of the interpretation of this passage see Watkins (1986: 58ff).

[12] The antecedent of the dative enclitic *-du* is by no means certain, but this does not affect the issue of *-aš* in the following sentence.

A second indisputable example of *-aš* as anim. acc. plural is found in *KUB* XXXV 133 ii 10 (Starke 1985: 280): *[(a=d)]u=aš* EGIR-*an šandu* "May they grant them to him". For *āppan šā-* as "grant (permanently), cede", equivalent to Hittite *āppan tarna-*, see Melchert (1989: 33ff). Whether one accepts this interpretation of *šā-* or not, the function of *-aš* as anim. acc. plural is unquestionable. Once again the plural verb eliminates *-aš* as anim. nom. singular. Since the only other conceivable functions (anim. nom. plural, nt. nom.-acc. plural) are already filled by *-ata*, we have no alternative but anim. acc. plural. Note further that *šā-* is a transitive verb (see the other examples in Laroche 1959: 84). We therefore expect an expressed direct object. Seeing that this occurrence of *-aš* must be anim. acc. plural, is is very likely that that of the preceding sentence is as well: *a=ti=aš išta=ḫa wāš[u...]* "He also __ed them (for himself) well...". The antecedent of *-aš* is missing in this passage, but the structure of *a=du=aš* EGIR-*an šandu* forces a reading of *-aš* as animate accusative plural.

The realization that we must recognize *-aš* as anim. acc. plural also permits a better interpretation of several other passages. *KUB* XXXV 45 ii 18ff (Starke 1985: 152) offers the following (dupl. XXX̣V 48 ii 11ff): EN-*ya tiwāliya piya=aš* [LÚ]KÚR.MEŠ-*inz[(i)]*! (scil. *-inza*) *kattawatnallinza ūtnaššinza ḫišḫišašši[n]za taparuwaššinza tātariyammanašš-inza ḫīrut[(aš)]šinza* EN.MEŠ-*anza*. It is clear that we have a vocative, followed by a form of the verb *piya-* "give" and a series of direct objects which name enemies of various sorts. Laroche (1959: 82 and 147) conjectures *piyaš* as second singular preterite "you gave". The preceding vocative demands a second person, but the following context (*ibid.* ii 25-27) speaks of what the gods **should** do to the enemies. This argues against the idea that the god has already delivered up the enemies in the preceding passage. I therefore propose rather that we should read *piya=aš*, second singular imperative plus *-aš* "them" (proleptic, as often; see the very next sentence, *ibid.* ii 21ff): "Oh [ ], *tiwali-* lord, deliver them, the enemies, the opponents at law, the 'lords' of the spells, the *ḫišḫis-*, the *taparu-*, the curses and the oaths".

The preceding complete passage and what immediate context remains suggest that we should analyze *āyaš* in *KUB* XXXV 65 iii 5 (Starke 1985: 180) in a parallel fashion: not preterite second singular (thus hesitantly Laroche 1959: 24), but imperative second singular plus *-aš* "them". The form *āyaš* follows *ḫaratnaššinza [...]šinza* EN-*anza* in the preceding two lines. The adjective *ḫaratnaššinza* "of the offenses/crimes" shows that this passage is parallel to that of *KUB* XXXV 45.

The incomplete adjective in *-(aš)šinza* should therefore also be restored as *[ḫirutaš]šinza* "of the oaths" or the like, not as *[malḫaššaš]šinza* with Starke (1985: 180) and Laroche (1959: 66). It is not the "lords of the sacrifice" (the clients) who are being referred to, but rather the enemies who have caused the trouble which the ritual is designed to get rid of. In lines following *āyaš* we find *a-aš-ta ḫannā* and *zīla dūdupa*. The form *dūdupa* is surely to be taken with Laroche (1959: 99) as imperative second singular to a reduplicated stem related to *dūpi-/dūpai-* "strike". This strongly suggests that *a-aš-ta ḫannā* should be read as conjunction *a-* plus *-aš* "them" plus particle *-tta* plus another imperative second singular *ḫannā*. Whether the verb is to be identified with Hittite *ḫanna-* "judge" may be left open, but the sense would fit the context: "Judge them (the enemies)! ... thereafter strike (them)!". In any case, the immediately preceding animate plural antecedent [ ]*šinza* EN-*anza* and the following imperative second singulars argue that we should likewise divide *āyaš* as *āya=aš* "Make/treat them [ ]!".

Having now recognized *-aš* as anim. acc. plural, we can now notice that the context of *KUB* XXXV 90,8 (Starke 1985: 246), XXXV 89,16 (Starke 1985: 228), and *KBo* XXIX 34+ i 6 (Starke 1985: 378) also favors this interpretation for *-aš*. We have definitely found two examples of *-aš* which must be taken as anim. acc. plural, and two more cases where this interpretation improves our understanding of the text. We find no examples for *-ata* as anim. acc. plural. We must therefore conclude that the nom.-acc. plural forms of the third person enclitic pronoun in CLuvian agree with those of Neo-Hittite (anim. nom. pl. *-ata* = Hitt. *-at*; anim. acc. pl. *-aš* = Hitt. *-aš*) rather than with those of HLuvian, which has indeed generalized *-ata* for the entire nom.-acc. plural, animate and inanimate.

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HETHITISCH *sēr* "AUF"

Norbert OETTINGER

1. Hethitisch *sēr* "auf, über" wird meist als ehemaliger endungsloser Lokativ erklärt, vgl. vor allem A. Heubeck und E. Neu[1]. Die von F. Starke untersuchte[2] und seither oft diskutierte Tatsache, daß *sēr* im Althethitischen wie ein N-A. Sg. n. konstruiert wird, hatte mich seinerzeit zum Ansatz eines N-A. Sg. n. **sēr* "Oberseite" bewogen[3]. Th. Krisch hat 1984 versucht, den Gebrauch dieses Adverbs als eigentlich statisch zu erweisen und so die Deutung als ehemaliger (endungloser) Lokativ zu stützen[4]. Demgegenüber hat O. Carruba die Herleitung aus einem langstufigen Nom. Sg. *sēr* aufgenommen. Er führt allerdings weiterhin aus, daß der Obliquumsstamm hierzu, nämlich **sr-*, in "Dat. luw. *sarri*" usw. vorliege[5].

2. Aus Sicht der indogermanischen Ablauttheorie wäre gegen ein solches Paradigma nichts einzuwenden. Was *sarri* anbelangt, so ist jedoch auf die konsequent doppeltes *r* aufweisenden Schreibungen *šar-ri* und *šar-ra* der betreffenden keilschrift-luwischen (= k-luw.) Adverbien hinzuweisen, die nur als Wiedergabe von sprachwirklichem doppeltem /rr/ interpretierbar sind[6]. Hethitisch *ša-ra-a* "hinauf" zeigt dagegen stets einfach geschriebenes *r*. Daher wurden wahrscheinlich k-luw. *šar-ri* und *šar-ra* als /sarri/, /sarra/ gesprochen, heth. *ša-ra-a* dagegen als /srā́/.

3. Die Lautdifferenz *rr*: *r* in k-luw. *sarri*: heth. *sarā*, *sēr* erinnert an diejenige in k-luw. *parran*: heth. *peran* "vor" und auch an Oppositionen wie *bb*: *b* in k-luw. *tappas*: heth. *nepis* "Himmel" im Sinne von Čops Regel. Čop selbst nahm an, daß heth. *sēr* aus **ser* oder **seri* stamme, während k-luw. *sarri* und heth. *sarā* (letzeres mit analogischer Umbildung nach *parā* "vorwärts") auf **serā́* zurückzuführen seien (Čop

[1] HEUBECK (1964); NEU (1980a: bes. 35f.)
[2] STARKE (1977: 133 mit A. 10); NEU (1980a:35ff).
[3] OETTINGER (1979: 542).
[4] KRISCH (1984: 135).
[5] CARRUBA (1981: 245).
[6] Vgl. zum Grundsätzlichen MELCHERT (1994: 15).

1970:86). Melchert (1984:88 A. 18; 1994:183) hat sich der Herleitung von *sēr* aus **séri* angeschlossen.

Da inneranatolische Adverbvarianten mit und ohne lokativisches *-i* nicht häufig sind, ist diese Annahme in der Tat ökonomisch. Somit sind heth. *sēr* < *sḗri* < **séri* > k-luw. *sárri* lautgesetzlich. Bei k-luw. *sarra* ist Angleichung an das danebenstehende *sarri* wahrscheinlicher als umgekehrt bei heth. *sarā* Angleichung des Wurzelvokalismus an *parā*[7]. Die Annahme von Schwund von auslautendem *-i* (für heth. *sēr*) ist problemlos[8].

4. Eine Parallele findet das Verhältnis von heth. *sēr*: k-luw. *sarri*: lyk. *hri* "auf" in demjenigen von heth. **tēri-*: k-luw. **tarri-*, lyk. **tri-* "drei". Man kann zwar nicht ausschließen, daß uranatolisch *téri* eine alte Hochstufe I zu uridg. **tréi̯-* fortsetzt, aber wahrscheinlich wäre, da offensichtlich keine Vr̥ddhi-Ableitung vorliegt, ein derartiger Schwebeablaut nicht. Eher stellt uranat. **téri-* mit Eichner (1992: 71f.) eine anaptyktische Form des bekannten uridg. Kompositionsvorderglieds **tri-*, also die nullstufige Form von **tréi̯-* (Nom. **tréi̯-es*) "drei" dar.

5. Angesichts der oben genannten Parallelität kann man m. E. erwägen, auch uranat. **séri* "oben" auf nullstufiges **srí* zurückzuführen; also vielleicht: **srí* > **sŕ̥i* > **səri* > **séri*. Kein Gegenargument ist heth. *sarā* /srā́/ < **srṓ*, denn die sprachwirkliche *e*-Anaptyxe in Anlautgruppen (nur diese!) trat wohl lediglich vor palatalem Vokal der Folgesilbe auf und ist so assimilatorisch bedingt. Vgl. auch heth. *teripp-*[mi] "pflügen" < **trep-* "umwenden". Diese Anaptyxe, die zumindest für die Anlautgruppen

[7] Im Urluwischen dürften die Entwicklungen **srí* > **séri* > **sárri*; **srṓ* > **srā́* sowie **prí* > **péri* > **párri*; **pérom* > **péran* > **párran*; **prṓ* > **prā́* die analogische Ausbildung von Dubletten bewirkt haben, so daß theoretisch folgende Paare unkonditionierter Varianten nebeneinander gestanden haben können: A) **sárri*: **srí*; B) **sárra*: **srā́*; C) **párri*: **prí*; D) **párran*: **prán*; E) **párra*: **prā́*.

K-luw. *sarri* und *parran* wären somit lautgesetzlich, *sarra* und *pa-ri* /pri/ analogisch zustandegekommen. Freilich kann bei dem nur als Präverb belegten /pri/ das Fehlen der Anaptyxe auch proklitischem Gebrauch zuzuschreiben sein, wie z.B. bei gotisch *ga-* (in /garínnan/ "zusammenlaufen" usw.) < **kom* gegenüber zu erwartendem **ha-* < **kóm* "zusammen". Zum postulierten k-luw. **srā́* vgl. auch k-luw. *saramman-* (wohl /srámman-/) "Akropolis" usw., woraus heth. *saráma-* (wohl /srā́ma-/) entlehnt sein dürfte, bei STARKE (1990: 279ff.).

[8] Auslautendes kurzes *-i* konnte im Hethitischen vermutlich nicht nur nach Dental (z.B. Ablativ *-(a)z* < **-(a)ti*, während aber der Medialausgang /-adi/ nicht aus **-odi* stammt; OETTINGER [1997 Exkurs I]), sondern auch nach manchen anderen Lauten schwinden. So vergleicht NEU (1980: 87 A.27) den Auslaut von *hudāk* "plötzlich" mit demjenigen von gr. οὐχί "nicht" usw. Zur Diskussion s. auch MELCHERT (1994: 182f.).

**tr-* und **sr-* anzunehmen ist, hat bereits uranatolisches Alter; vgl. Oettinger (1993: 155), Melchert (1994: 174).

6. Hiervon unabhängig ist die spätere, innerhethitische *e*-Anaptyxe, wofür Eichner (1970), Melchert (1994: 174 f.) einzusehen sind. Sie bedarf noch der Diskussion an anderer Stelle. Im Tocharischen gibt es eine typologisch vergleichbare Anaptyxe unter sehr ähnlichen Ausgangsbedingungen wie bei hethitisch **takszi* > *takkeszi*; nämlich z. B. uridg. **su̯ekstós* > urtoch. **ṣəkəstḗ* (konventionell: ** ṣəkəstá*) > toch. B *ṣkaste*, A *ṣkäṣt* "sechster" nach Ringe (1990: 193). Ebenso uridg. **téks-ti* "verbindet" (zu ap. *ham-taxša* "kooperieren" usw.) > **tákstsi* > **takə́stsi* > **takə̄́stsi* > heth. /takḗstsi/ (*ták-ki-e-eš-zi*). Die Pleneschreibung zeigt den *e*-Vokalismus; anders Melchert (1994: 174).

7. Zur (vermutlich uranatolischen) Akzentverlagerung **serí* > **séri* vgl. z.B. heth. *i-it* /íd/ "geh!" < uridg. *h_1*id*^{h}*í*. Morphologisch stellen sich **sr-í* "oben" und **sr-ó*h_1 "hinauf" als nullstufiger Lokativ bzw. Allativ (Direktiv) dar, was entfernt an Paare wie gr. ἀνά, ἄνω "hinauf"erinnert. Etymologisch hat Heubeck (1964) heth. *sēr* mit gr. ῥίον "Berghöhe" < **sri̯o-m* verglichen; man könnte darüber hinaus avestisch *har-* beschützen" (uridg. **ser-u̯o-* "Aufseher" usw.) heranziehen, wenn man als Grundbedeutung des Verbs "die Hand über etwas halten" ansetzen wollte.

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HIEROGLYPHIC LUWIAN *tuwati* AND *u(n)zati*

Terumasa OSHIRO

It is the general concurrence of scholars that we know the full set of orthotonic personal pronouns in Hittite (see Friedrich [1960: 62]), while in each of the other Anatolian languages the set so far known is only partial. In the case of Hieroglyphic Luwian, for instance, only the following forms of orthotonic personal pronouns have been recognized[1] (Meriggi [1966: 45-52]; *HHL*: 178-179; Morpurgo Davies [1980:89]):

Sg. 1st. *amu*, *mu* (nom., dat., acc.)
2nd. *ti* (nom.), *tu* (acc.)
Pl. 1st. *a-ZU-za* (nom.)[2]
2nd. *u-ZU-sa*[3], *u-ZU-za*[4] (nom.)

The ASSUR letters (Andrae [1924]; Meriggi [1967: 131-142]) are a most valuable text group for the study of the pronouns in Hieroglyphic Luwian because we can find some additional pronominal forms in these documents. As a result of my analysis of the pronominal forms attested in the ASSUR letters, I intend to show that the forms which have so far been assumed to be the ablative of the "possessive adjectives" are in fact the ablative forms of the 2nd sg. and pl. of the "orthotonic personal pronouns".

[1] As in Hittite, the demonstrative pronoun *apa-* is also used for the 3rd sg. and pl. of the orthotonic pronouns in Hieroglyphic Luwian: e.g. comm. nom. sg. *(a)pas* and nom. pl. *(a)panzi*.

[2] On the form *á-ZU-za*, see ASSUR *a*,1; *e*,1 (2x); *f*,1 and on the variant form *á-ZU-za*, see ASSUR *d*,1.

[3] On the form *u-ZU-sa*, refer to CARCHEMISH A 6,7 (see also MORPURGO DAVIES 1980: 90). The value *ZU* (*HH*.no.432) in *u-ZU-sa* and *u-ZU-za* is only provisional in this paper. Its value is presumably considered as *za*, because the word *u-ZU-sa* will probably indicate the form **u(n)zas* corresponding to the Cun. Luw. *u-za-aš* (**unzas* < PIE **usmes*) in *KUB* IX 31 II 32 (see CARRUBA 1968: 13-14), which functionally matches Hittite *šumeš* (SCHMIDT 1978: 215-216).

[4] On the form *u-ZU-za*, see ASSUR *c*,1; *e*,1; *e*,3 (2x). This form is probably regarded as **u(n)za(n)z*, which is analysed into the 2nd pl. pronominal stem **unza-*(< **usme-*) and the Luw. pl. ending *-*nz* (note that the preconsonantal *-n-* is never written in Hieroglyphic Luwian). This form is a peculiar form innovated in the ASSUR letters (cf. STARKE 1982: 422, note 75: *aZUza* < **a(n)za(n)z*). Therefore, in Hieroglyphic Luwian we can attest two distinctive orthotonic pronominal forms of the 2nd. pl.: i.e. the common Luwian form *u-ZU-sa* (< **unzas*) in CARCHEMISH and the innovated form *u-ZU-za* (< **unzanz*) in the ASSUR letters.

1. *tuwati*

To our knowledge, this form is attested only once in the following sentence in Assur *f*:[5]

[1] Assur *f*, 2:

(i) *u-nu-pa-wa/i-za* NEG$_2$-' *tu-wa/i-ri+i ha-tu-ra+à*[6]
(ii) *wa/i-ri+i ku-ma-na ha-tu-ra+à*[6]
(iii) *wa/i-za ni-i-' ma-nu-ha ARHA-'* ("*69")*sa-si*

The word *tu-wa/i-ri+i* in the passage (i) has so far been considered as a rhotacized form of the abl. 2nd sg. of the possessive adjective *tuwati* (Meriggi [1962: 135]; *HHL*:179; Hawkins [1975: 135]). Thus the above lines were understood as follows (see Hawkins [1975: 135] and [1980: 116]):

(i) "Now we (are) not to write because of your (letter?).
(ii) When you (are) for writing,
(iii) do not again miss us".

J.D. Hawkins, though with some reservation, regards *tuwati* as the abl. form of the possessive adjective, and suggests that the noun (i.e. "letter") modified by this word might have been omitted. To my knowledge, however, it is not conventional to omit the nouns modified by the possessive adjectives in Hieroglyphic Luwian. In the Assur letters, we can refer to the following examples of the modified noun *hatura-* "letter":[7]

e, 1:	*u-zi-na ha-tu+ra/i-na*	"your(pl.) letter"
e, 2:	*á-mi-sa ha-tu-<ra>+à-sa*	"my letter"
e, 2:	*á-mi-na za-na ha-tu+ra/i-na*	"this my letter"
f, 2:	*à-zi-sa ha-tu-ra+à-sa*	"our letter"

[5] The system of transliteration used in this paper is as proposed in *HHL*: 192-193, and note further a series of supplementary tables or indications by Hawkins. The word division signs (*HH*, no.386) are not marked in this paper, since they do not affect this study.

[6] The ligature sign *-à+ra/i* may correctly be read as *-ra+à* (i.e. *ha-tu-ra+à* = /hatura/, see also Oettinger 1976: 126), since at present we read the ligature *-i+ra/i* as *-ri+i* (*HHL*: 171-172). *ha-tu-ra+à* is assumed to be an imperative form (see Oettinger [1976: 126] and Tischler [1978: 226]) or a verbal noun as suggested by Morpurgo Davies (1980: 91). But this form may also be assumed to be the dative form of a noun *hatura-* "writing, letter" (see also Melchert 1988: 30): refer also to the following instances:
Assur *e*, 1: *ha-tu-ra+à à-sa-ta-ni* "You (pl.) are for writing".
Assur *d*, 2: *ha-tu+ra/i-na ha-tu-ra+à* "for writing a letter".

[7] Cf. the Hier. Luw. possessive adjectives: Sg.1. *(a)mi-*; 2. *tuwi-*; 3. *(a)pasi-*; Pl.1. *a(n)zi-*; 2. *u(n)zi-*; 3. *(a)pasi-* (Carruba 1968: 22; *HHL*: 178-179; Schmidt 1978; Morpurgo Davies 1980: 89).

In view of these examples, it may be safe to assume that in the quoted line [1] (i), the modified noun has not been omitted but rather the word *tuwati* itself should have functioned as an independent personal pronoun. Thus the word *tuwati* is in all probability to be identified as the abl. 2nd sg. form of the orthotonic personal pronoun, which functionally corresponds to Hittite *tuedaz(a)*. This form is surely to be analysed into the 2nd sg. pronominal stem *tu(wa)-* and the abl. ending *-(a)ti*[8], parallel to the pronominal formation in Hittite such as *tu-k, tu-el* and *tu-edaz(a)*.

Therefore, our tentative translation of citation [1] is as follows:

(i) "Now to us[9] (there is) not to write from you.
(ii) When you (are) for writing,
(iii) do not again abandon[10] us".

It seems difficult to offer the exact interpretation of the passage (i), but this passage presumably suggests that "we receive no letter **from you**"[11].

2. *u(n)zati*

Next, we can exemplify another orthotonic pronominal form attested twice in ASSUR letter *a*:

[2] ASSUR *a*, 1-2:

(i) *u-nu-ha-wa/i-tu-u-ta u-za-ri+i ARHA-' pa+ra/i-ra+à-ha*
(ii) *wa/i-mu ha-tu+ra/i-na* NEG_2-' *ma-nu-ha* ("LOQUI"-')*pu-pa-la-ta-'*

[8] On the ending in *-ati*, refer to the abl. forms of nouns and possessive adjectives (MERIGGI 1966: 26 and 55; *HHL*: 171-172). And also the dat. (and probably abl.) forms of the demonstrative and relative pronouns end in *-(a)ti*, while the dat. forms of nouns and possessive adjectives end in *-i* (note that the abl. ending *-(a)ti* of the demonstrative *za-* "this" is attested in CEKKE B,10: *za-ti* STELE-*ri+i* "from this stele": see also MERIGGI 1966: 53).

[9] The enclitic personal pronoun *-(an)za* in **unu-pa-wa-(n)za* is considered to be the dat. form which functionally corresponds to Hitt.*-naš*.

[10] For this meaning, see MELCHERT (1989: 36).

[11] For this interpretation, we can refer to the following:

i) ASSUR *d*, 2:
wa/i-za NEG_2-' REL-*ha-na ha-tu-ra/i-na ha-tu-ra+à*
"And (there is) nothing for writing a letter to us".

ii) ASSUR *e*, 1:
wa/i-za NEG_2-' REL-*i-ha ha-tu+ra/i-na ha-tu-ra+à*
"and (there is) for writing no letter to us".

[3] ASSUR *a*, 3:

(i) *ARHA-ha-wa/i-mu-u* REL-*ri+i* MORI-*ha-na*
(ii) *wa/i-mu-u u-za+ra/i-i* "*476.*311"(-)*à-li-i̯a-ta*

Both *u-za-ri+i* in [2] and *u-za+ra/i-i* in [3] apparently show rhotacized forms of *uzati* < **unzati*[12]. The form *u(n)zati* has so far been assumed to be the abl. pl. of the possessive adjective (see *HHL*: 179). Based on this assumption, the above passages were translated as follows (see Morpurgo Davies [1980: 101]):

[2]

(i) "Now I asked you (sg.) with/in your (pl.) (letter?),
(ii) you did not write a letter to me".

[3]

(i) "As for me, as if we had died,
(ii) you (sg.) ALIYA-ed(?) me with/in your (pl.) (letter?)".

As already mentioned above, however, it should be noted that in general the nouns modified by the possessive pronouns are not omitted in Hieroglyphic Luwian sentences. From this viewpoint we can state that the word *u(n)zati* itself clearly operates as an independent pronoun. This word is surely to be considered as the abl. 2nd pl. form of the orthotonic personal pronoun[13], which functionally corresponds to Hittite *šumedaz*. Thus this form is also to be analysed into the 2nd pl. pronominal stem *unza-* (<**usme-*) and the abl. ending *-(a)ti*[14].

Therefore, the citations above can be correctly interpreted as follows:

[2]

(i) "Now I asked you (sg.) from you (pl.),
(ii) you (sg.) did not write a letter to me".

[3]

(i) "As for me, as if we had died,
(ii) you (sg.) ALIYA-ed(?) me with you (pl.)".

[12] The preconsonantal *-n-* is never written in Hieroglyphic Luwian (see footnote 3).

[13] MERIGGI, though not positively, had already assumed the word *u(n)zati* to be the orthotonic pronominal form (1962: 137; 1967: 135-136; note his translation "col vostro [?]" or "dal vostro [?]").

[14] On the abl. ending *-(a)ti* for sg. and pl., see *HHL*: 169.

Though the meaning of the verb "*476.*311"(-)*à-li-i̯a-ta* in the quoted line [3] (ii) is not clear[15], the word *u(n)zati* of this line could probably denote "with/through you (pl.)".

In conclusion, we can confirm two other "orthotonic" personal pronominal forms in Hieroglyphic Luwian: *tuwati* of the abl. 2nd sg. and *u(n)zati* of the abl. 2nd pl. At present, the table of the attested forms of orthotonic personal pronouns in this language is to be modified as follows:

		Orthotonic Personal Pronouns
Sg.	1st.	*amu, mu* (nom., dat., acc.)
	2nd.	*ti* (nom.), *tu* (acc.), *tuwati* (abl.)
Pl.	1st.	*a-ZU-za* (nom.)
	2nd.	*u-ZU-sa, u-ZU-za* (nom.), *u(n)zati* (abl.)

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[15] On the meaning of this verb, see MORPURGO DAVIES (1980: 100): "you took notice", "you treated" or "you neglected".

THE ORIGIN OF NON-GREEK LETTERS IN THE PHRYGIAN ALPHABET: THE EVIDENCE FROM GORDION

Lynn E. ROLLER

The publication of the corpus of Paleo-Phrygian texts by Claude Brixhe and Michel Lejeune (1984) has given renewed emphasis to studies on the origin and development of the Phrygian script. This paper will discuss the non-Greek Phrygian letters which appear in the Paleo-Phrygian texts from Gordion and will offer some suggestions about their origin. At Gordion, as at other Phrygian sites, the core of the Phrygian alphabet was derived from the Greek alphabet, and it is generally presumed that these Phrygian letters carried the same phonetic values as the Greek ones. Every region of Phrygia, however, has yielded alphabetic texts containing a number of letter forms which do not occur in Greek script, and whose phonetic values are unknown. Several appear only once, or only at one Phrygian site, a fact that makes it uncertain whether they are in fact unique Phrygian letters, variants of epichoric Phrygian letters known from inscriptions at other sites, or nonalphabetic symbols. These circumstances, combined with the small size of the extant corpus and our continuing inability to translate these Phrygian texts, make any discussion of these letters tentative.

We will focus our discussion on the epichoric script of Gordion. Several factors make the written texts from Gordion suitable for a study of the origin of non-Greek Phrygian letter forms. There is a fairly large body of material to deal with, and it has been fully published. Nearly all objects with writing on them were recovered from stratified archaeological contexts, so that some suggestions of chronology can be made. Moreover, studies have been made of the pre- and post-Phrygian material from the site, enabling us to place the development of the Phrygian writing system in an historical context[1].

Before we can examine Phrygian alphabetic writing, however, we need to consider the earlier script systems used at Gordion. There are

[1] On Bronze Age material from Gordion, see GÜTERBOCK (1980: 51-57) and GUNTER (1991). For the later Phrygian period, see WINTER (1988: 60-71) and ROLLER (1987b: 103-133). A more precise discussion of the chronology of the site is given by VOIGT (1994). A review of the languages and script systems attested at Gordion is given by ROLLER (1989).

two classes of graphic symbols used in the pre-Phrygian era which will play a part in our discussion: Anatolian hieroglyphs and nonverbal identification marks. From the Late Bronze Age, ca. 1400-1200 B.C., a period when the settlement was under strong Hittite influence, come several examples of seals and seal impressions. Among them is a jar handle of locally made pottery with a seal impression containing Anatolian hieroglyphic characters (Güterbock [1980: 51]). While these are as yet undeciphered, the existence of this sealing indicates knowledge of the writing system used to write the Luwian language; cf. Hawkins (1986: 363-375). Thus the characters on the seal impression communicate with reference to language. There are in addition several examples of local pottery which bear nonverbal signs incised before firing. Two different sign types occur, the arrow and the triangle with central line[2]. Their precise purpose is uncertain, but they were probably a type of identification mark. Since these signs do not appear to encode a language, they are not, strictly speaking, a form of writing, although one of them, the triangle with central vertical line, may be a simplified form of the Anatolian hieroglyph for "king" (Laroche [1960: 10 no. 17]). Marking the containers with this sign before firing could indicate that they (and their contents) were royal property.

Neither the hieroglyphs nor the identification marks on pottery were original to Gordion. Both systems of Bronze Age graphic symbols should be viewed as ancillary to the much larger corpus of material found at Hattusas-Boğazköy; cf. Seidl (1972). Among the Late Bronze Age material found at Boğazköy is a large quantity of pottery with marks applied before firing, marks which were incised in conspicuous places onto large storage pithoi. With few exceptions, these marks do not appear to be related to a linguistic system, but they were, nonetheless, self-consciously chosen and placed on the vessels for a purpose, evidently as a form of identification. Both of Gordion's nonverbal marks find several parallels among the Boğazköy corpus; cf. Roller (1987a: 1-2).

The Bronze Age graphic systems at Gordion are important for a discussion of the Iron Age Phrygian alphabet since they appear to have influenced Phrygian writing in two ways: they may have provided the source of one of the non-Greek letters in the Phrygian alphabet, and, more indirectly, they may have contributed symbols to a system of

[2] ROLLER (1987a): the arrow, nos. 1A-1, 1A-2; the triangle with central line, nos. 1A-3 through 10. In the present study, the term "nonverbal" is used in the same sense as defined in that monograph, ROLLER (1987a: xx), to indicate a mark which does not encode a specific spoken word.

nonverbal marks commonly used during the ensuing Phrygian period which were themselves a source of Phrygian alphabetic letters. Therefore we shall review both the corpus of Phrygian alphabetic texts at Gordion during the first millennium B.C. and the practice of using nonverbal marks.

One hundred seventy-eight Paleo-Phrygian texts, on stone and on pottery vessels, have been uncovered at Gordion. Most of the texts are short, consisting of a single word, probably a proper name. The earliest examples of alphabetic writing date from the eighth century B.C., one alphabetic text from the late eighth century level of the city (Brixhe and Lejeune [1984: G-104]), and five from Tumulus MM, (Brixhe [1981: 273-277]; Brixhe and Lejeune [1984: G-105 through 109]), dating to the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. The earliest alphabetic texts at Gordion were all found in closed contexts and therefore can be assigned fairly precise dates, but the chronological spread of the material from periods after the late eighth or early seventh century B.C. destruction of the city is less certain. It appears that only three texts can be securely dated to the seventh century, and eleven to the sixth century; cf. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 94). The remaining one hundred sixty-seven texts were found in mixed contexts, and can only be assigned a date within the range of the seventh through fourth centuries B.C. In evaluating these frequencies, one should remember that the eighth-century levels at Gordion have been intensely investigated, so that the small number of texts known from this early period probably indicates that comparatively few texts existed. The great increase in alphabetic texts from the seventh century B.C. and later implies a much greater knowledge of writing among the population.

The characters used in the Gordion texts include eighteen letters taken directly from the Greek alphabet[3]. These letters comprise only the basic Greek characters which represented single sounds, including the archaic Greek letter Ϝ (*digamma*). The special character of the Phrygian alphabet at Gordion is evident, however, from the appearance of five letters which were not part of the early Greek alphabet. Two of them we will discuss only briefly, for the source of these letters appears fairly clear. One letter, the ↓ (dextroverse) or √ (sinistroverse), first

[3] LEJEUNE (1969: 19-47), and LEJEUNE (1970: 51-74). BRIXHE and LEJEUNE (1984: 279-282) give seventeen Phrygian letters as direct borrowings from Greek, listing the Ŧ, their letter 22, as an unknown, although in earlier publications this letter had been transliterated as *z*, see LEJEUNE (1969: 39), LEJEUNE (1970: 60), and BRIXHE (1981: 276). Here I am considering the Ŧ as a form derived from the Greek *zeta*.

noted in Phrygian texts of the sixth century B.C., appears to be a direct borrowing from the Phoenician script; cf. Lejeune (1969: 30-38) and (1970: 60). A second letter, the Ͳ could be a form taken from Greek script but with a different phonetic value. This letter occurs once in the corpus of Paleo-Phrygian texts, on a vessel from a fourth-century context, although the piece may be a residual from an earlier level. The sign is obviously similar to the Greek *sampi*, although we cannot be certain of the phonetic value of the Phrygian letter. Its occurrence at such a late date, after the disappearance of the *sampi* from regular Greek script, is surprising. A Greek origin for the form, however, seems likely in view of a second occurrence in a text which uses Greek script (Roller [1987b: 131 no. 59]), dated to the first or second centuries C.E.[4].

The remaining three letters, ↑, Ψ, and Y, however, almost surely have no connection with foreign scripts. All three appear at a fairly early stage in the development of Phrygian script. One of the earliest Phrygian texts found in Tumulus MM includes the ↑, Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: G-105). Another, the Ψ, appears in a seventh-century text; cf. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: G-112). A third, Y, is found in a graffito dated to the sixth century B.C.; cf. Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: G-115).

One characteristic which this latter group of three letters has in common (and which sets them apart from the two letters discussed above) is that all three of them appear not only as letter forms but also as nonverbal marks, either as an isolated mark or as part of a complex group. Nonverbal marks are extremely common at Gordion, almost forming an alternative script system. Some two hundred instances of such marks consist of a singleton alphabetic letter or two isolated letters. In addition there are over two hundred fifty examples of nonalphabetic marks, scratched onto pottery and other objects; cf. Roller (1987a: Parts 1A & 2A). These nonalphabetic marks were evidently a form of owner's mark, a sort of nonverbal identification label for the owner of the vessel. Some of them were incised onto pottery before firing, particularly onto storage vessels, but the great majority were scratched onto small bowls, cups, and plates after firing. They first appear on vessels dating from the early eighth century B.C., and thus anticipate the earliest Phrygian alphabetic texts by about half a century or more. They occur consistently from the eighth century on, but the greatest number is found on wares of the

[4] Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: 282) suggest that the Ͳ may be an alternative form of the ↑, but I find this less likely, in view of the letter's occurrence in the much later text in Greek script.

seventh through fourth centuries B.C., the same period as the majority of the alphabetic texts. The frequency spread of these marks is as follows: from the eighth century B.C., six examples; from the seventh century (only), twenty-one examples; from sixth century (only), twenty-three examples; from the seventh through fourth centuries (mixed), one hundred fifty-one examples.

The Phrygian nonalphabetic marks exhibit a broad range of symbols. Some of the marks consist of lines, *X*'s, or cross-hatching, forms which occur independently in many societies. Others show the recurrence of specific patterns, suggesting that the person who scratched the mark was using a known symbol to convey a specific message, just as a written text would convey a message. This suggestion is further supported by the fact that these same patterns occur in other parts of Anatolia and in a variety of other media, including seals, coins, and stone masons' marks; cf. Roller (1987a: 8-16, 102-103 Chart B).

The term "owner's mark" may be thought to imply that such marks filled an intermediate stage between the disappearance of the Bronze Age graphic systems and the appearance of the earliest Phrygian alphabetic texts. The distribution patterns cited above indicate, however, that this was not the case, for the frequencies of the nonverbal marks parallel very closely the distribution of alphabetic texts. Moreover, certain Phrygian letters originally derived from the Greek alphabet appear in conjunction with these nonalphabetic symbols, suggesting that both alphabetic letters and nonalphabetic marks were acceptable forms of marking property for personal identification; cf. Roller (1987a: 2A-67, 2A-73, 2A-111, 2A-120, 2A-139). Apparently, increasing familiarity with the concept of written communication created a greater interest in using written symbols of any kind.

Several of these nonalphabetic marks were not original to the Phrygians, but reproduce the kinds of marks found on the much earlier Bronze Age pottery. Such parallels are found not only on the Late Bronze Age pottery of Gordion, but also on Bronze Age vessels from the former Hittite capital of Hattusas-Boğazköy. Among these Hittite marks we find some of the most common nonverbal marks which were incised onto the later Phrygian pottery of Gordion. These include such distinctive symbols as a triskeles, a schematic branch, a swastika, and a closed *X* resembling an hourglass; cf. Seidl (1972: B-19 through 36) and Roller (1987a: 10-11).

While we might think that the resemblance between the two groups of marks is purely chance, there are sufficient points of correspondence

between them to suggest that their relationship is not coincidental but intentional, viz. that the Phrygian who scratched on his personal owner's mark was aware of the Hittite tradition of marking vessels. Two specific pieces at Gordion support this hypothesis. One is a piece of coarse gray ware, a sherd from a deposit which contained material from the Bronze-Iron Age transitional levels; cf. Roller (1987a: 2A-3). The sherd itself is a fragment of a typical Phrygian ware whose date appears to be earlier than the appearance of the first alphabetic texts. It bears a mark incised after firing, a triangle with a central vertical line. This, as we have seen, was a mark applied before firing which was frequently used in the Late Bronze Age, and was probably a form of the Anatolian hieroglyph meaning "king". It seems unlikely that the mark carried any meaning of kingship to the Phrygians, for it appears on a small vessel, probably one for private use, and was applied after firing. The resemblance to the Bronze Age mark is close enough, though, to imply that the Phrygians chose this mark because to them it had acquired some sense of formal meaning from its use by the older civilization.

Another pottery fragment found at Gordion also suggests that the Phrygians were aware of the Bronze Age scripts and symbols. The sherd, a piece of Phrygian gray ware, was found in a first millennium B.C. context. It too bears the triangular mark applied before firing, virtually identical to the Bronze Age mark for "king". Below this mark applied before firing is an alphabetic graffito in Phrygian script applied after firing; cf. Roller (1987a: 2B-172). The triangular mark on this piece is similar enough to Bronze Age marks to suggest that chance survivals of Bronze Age pottery marks during the Phrygian period provided a model for this nonverbal graphic symbol.

There is no reason to assume that the Phrygians understood the precise purpose of the Bronze Age marks, nor is it likely that the Phrygians attached specific linguistic meanings to these marks. Nevertheless, the fact that they were exposed to the concept that incised symbols or marks could be used to express ideas, in this case personal ownership, would have made them open and susceptible to the Greek alphabetic system. We suspect that the Greek alphabet may have appeared more prestigious, and therefore more attractive, to the Iron Age Phrygians. Nonverbal marks did not communicate anything beyond the simplest notation of ownership. When the Phrygians came into contact with Greek alphabetic writing, they became familiar with a system which had the potential to express a much broader range of ideas, and to express even simple ideas

such as ownership more precisely by enabling the owner of an object to write his name in alphabetic script.

Let us return to the question of the three non-Greek Phrygian letters whose origin is uncertain. We may propose that the first of these letters, the ↑, was derived from the similar Bronze Age nonverbal pottery marks mentioned above[5]. True, the ↑ is a fairly simple form, and could appear independently in two different cultures. The occurrence of the same sign in the Late Bronze Age and in one of the earliest Iron Age texts seems, however, not to be coincidental and could just as easily be a result of a survival such as those discussed above. The ↑ also appears several times with other nonverbal symbols, either alone or woven into complex patterns; cf. Roller (1987a: 11). It is also found with isolated alphabetic letters, incised in such a way that it is uncertain whether the ↑ represents a letter or a nonalphabetic symbol (Roller [1987a: 2A-206=2B-141, 2B-152]; Brixhe and Lejeune [1984: G-203, G-225]). Such variable usage of the same symbol suggests that the boundary between alphabetic letters and nonalphabetic symbols was fairly flexible.

It was perhaps the transfer of the ↑ from nonverbal symbol to letter that led to the choice of two other Phrygian letters, the Ψ and the Y. The Ψ, as noted above, appears in an alphabetic text dated to the seventh century B.C.; so it was clearly regarded as an alphabetic letter. This sign too appears in conjunction with nonverbal symbols, often in complex patterns which clearly do not record a written language (Roller [1987a: 11, 35]); likewise it is found irregularly placed next to alphabetic letters, (Roller [1987a: 2B-168, 2B-202]), making it uncertain whether it was regarded as a letter in this instance. Here too the ambivalence between alphabetic and nonalphabetic symbols is apparent.

The Y presents a similar situation, complicated by the fact that the symbol is also a letter of the Greek alphabet. The Gordion Y, as it appears in Phrygian alphabetic texts, does not seem to represent a sound phonetically akin to the Greek *psi*; cf. Lejeune (1970: 63). Since the phonetic quality of the Greek *psi* itself shows a marked variation in regional usage in the earliest Greek texts (Jeffery [1961: 35-37]), we could not be certain what sound the Y represented even if it were Greek.

[5] We should note another example, found at Boğazköy, which directly links the Phrygian script with a Hittite symbol. One of the Phrygian texts there contains a character which looks like a branch, NEUMANN (1975: 79 no. 3). This same form appears as a common Hittite pottery mark, SEIDL (1972: nos. A-121 through 217, B-24 through 27).

Moreover, this character, like the ↑ and the Ψ discussed above, appears in a variety of contexts including alphabetic texts, nonalphabetic symbols, and inscriptions which contain a mixture of both; cf. Roller (1987a: 11, 35-36) and Brixhe and Lejeune (1984: no. G-249). This suggests that the origin of the ϒ should be sought in the corpus of nonalphabetic symbols, not in a foreign script.

We can now propose a sequence by which such epichoric Phrygian letters found a place in the alphabet. We have already indicated that chance exposure to Bronze Age graphic systems may be one factor which created a familiarity with the concept of writing[6]. Although they adopted the Greek alphabet, this apparently did not fill all of the Phrygians' needs, since there were still some sounds in their speech not covered by Greek letters. The Phrygians adopted one needed letter, ɿ, from the Phoenician script, but drew on the Anatolian tradition of nonverbal marks indicating ownership to supply three others. In support of this hypothesis we should note that several marks which are used solely as nonverbal marks at Gordion formed letters of the alphabet in epichoric scripts in other parts of Phrygia, the ϙ at Midas City (Brixhe and Lejeune [1984: M-01]), the ϙ at Çepni (Brixhe and Lejeune [1984: W-08]), and the ᛯ at Boğazköy (Neumann [1975: 79 no. 3]). The fluid boundaries between alphabetic and nonalphabetic notations, which continued for several centuries after the initial appearance of the Phrygian alphabet, facilitated such borrowing.

In summary, the material from Gordion permits a number of interesting observations on the development and use of writing at this central Anatolian site. Graphic symbols were used to record language in both the Bronze Age, illustrated by the hieroglyphic text, and the Iron Age, in alphabetic script. The Phrygian alphabet can be seen as a fusion of two writing systems developed for two non-Phrygian languages, Luwian and Greek, with Greek clearly contributing the dominant part. Likewise graphic symbols also recorded nonverbal messages such as ownership, contents, and the like. The nonverbal system, since it was not tied to a spoken language, was more durable across cultural and linguistic boundaries. Thus when chance survivals made the Bronze Age nonverbal system available to the Phrygian speakers of the Iron Age, they could make use of it to express similar nonverbal concepts of ownership, and also

[6] This was, of course, not the only factor, for commercial and diplomatic contacts with the Greeks would have played a dominant role in exposing the Phrygians to the Greek alphabet. Note the existence of Greek pottery in eighth-century B.C. levels at Gordion, DeVries (1980: 33-42).

adapt it for phonetic purposes to supplement their alphabetic script borrowed from the Greeks[7].

This paper has relied heavily on the written material from Gordion, since few examples of nonalphabetic marks from other Anatolian regions have been published. Perhaps it will serve to encourage others to study such marks and include them in discussions of the languages and scripts of other Anatolian peoples.

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[7] Similar patterns have been observed in early writing systems found in Iran and South Asia, see POTTS (1981: 107-122); DOLLFUS – ENCREVÉ (1982: 107-115).

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NOTES ON LYCIAN AND MILYAN

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Significant progress has been achieved in the field of Late Anatolian languages, including Lycian and Milyan. Still, there are many interpretations which seem to contradict either Lyc.-Mil. grammar or the meaning of certain words in appropriate passages, or both, — such as Lyc. *trbbi* and *ese*, allegedly prepositions "against" and "with", but in reality nouns "ally"/"in alliance" and "in attacks" (this latter may originate from **aĝ-* "drive" used also in 320.15 *ese* "in conflicts").

In a number of texts with continuous letter sequences, suggested word division seems incorrect (for instance, "particle strings *me-tu*, *me-de-tu/me-du-tu*" seem not to exist since the context rather presupposes imperatives of the 3rd p. sg.).

Ghost words, — such as Lyc. *garãi*, *kehixñta*, Mil. *kille*, *killeterblẽ*, — are still frequent in modern studies, and we have gotten even more of the same lately.

There is a disagreement among scholars concerning the meaning of Mil. plural forms in *-z*: do they cover d.-l. pl. or not? Numerous contexts show that they do; F. Starke correctly considers forms in *-Vz* as d.-l. pl. Mil. *lijenuwez*, *mlez*, *xruwasaz* etc. are d.-l. pl. forms (as also some forms in *-iz*) along with many words, ending in *-e*, *-a* (Lycian type; archaic). We may note here that Mil. acc. pl. shows not only forms in *-Ṽz* but also those in *-Vs* (a borrowing from Lycian).

Many false interpretations are triggered by the erroneous assumption that Mil. *ti*, *tike*, *tere* (cf. also *terẽi)* do not match Lyc. *ti*, *tike*, *tere* etc. (and that Mil. "*ki*, *kibe*, *keri/kere*" [which, actually, are reduced froms of *eki*, *ekibe*, *ekeri/ekere*] match Lyc. *ti*, *tibe*, *teri/tere*). Accordingly, where Mil. *ti* clearly means "who", the text structure is being distorted by researchers to avoid the obvious interpretation.

Revitalized is the old, senseless reading *timlu* (instead of the correct *ti mlu)* which effectively blocks the way to a proper interpretation of two important Milyan strophes (VII-VIII of the northside of TL 44, namely, 44c. 46-51; our exx. a-b):

a) *ñte (e)ne puketi: xbidewñni: ulaxadi: zrẽteni: seb(e) ẽnari: kupriti: turaxssali: na{:}tri ti mlu mawate: waxsadi: wizttasppazñ*

"The Kaunian Protector [Natri; cf. Lyd. *sarẽt-*] strikes him with assaults [: Lyc. d.-l. pl. *ule*, ex. 8], and Natri of Turaxssa extols the Mighty [<**annari-*] ...", the following refers to *turaxssali natri*: "who has destroyed with violence the pledge-stele of Hystaspes".

b) *ẽke (e)bei xustite umrqqazñ: klleimedi: sbirtẽ: xbadiz: tuwi-pe (e)ne: padrete: xeriga waxsa: murei: sebe zrigali: nei talã* "As/After the Lycians/Xanthians [lit. "plainsmen"] were smashing/have smashed here the oath-stele of Amorges with fury, Xeriga promised/dedicated to *muri* [Natri?] this, the grant/stele [*tuwi* is mostly acc.] for the battle, (and) to *zrigali* [Trqqiz?] — a *tala** for leadership (?)".

I am going to list briefly my tentative corrections to several recent (and not-so-recent) interpretations; my meaning identifications are provisional. Where a text is damaged, I mostly follow the recent revision as proposed by D. Schürr whom I would like to thank for new important materials and discussions.

1) We seem to have a borrowing from Greek in Lyc. *agara-* "agora" in 44.b 61-62 *ebeij(a) agarãi: zeusi* "... for Zeus/Trqqas of agoras" [in different, previously listed, cities]; not a "name *garãi*". Thereafter (in 44.b 62-63) we read: *xñtawati: sberide* "for the ruler in Sardis" (if to Lyd. **śfarid-*); cf. ex. 3 for *xñtawati azzalãi*.

2) Lyc. *ahata* may mean "perpetuity"; in any case, it is related to Mil. *eseti* (d. sg.); Schürr notes that there is no *ese ti*, only *eseti* (as we have maintained for three decades). Cf. Mil. 44.d 44-45: "Trqqiz granted (?) to Lycians the *xzzãta** of Xeriga for perpetuity": acc. *xzzãtã* may match "Luw." **xazz(iy)andan* "incision/statue" (: Mil. *xez-m̃*, etc.), — certainly not "Xanthos" (Lyc. *arñna-* may be synonymous to Mil. *xbada-* "valley"). — Cf., for *eseti*, Mil. allat. *asa* and verb *asxxa-* "make permanent".

As for *xzzãtã... xerigazñ*, note similar phrases: a) (in a sentence with subject *zuse* "Zeus/Trqqiz":) *[ml]u... xerigaz[:]ẽ* "pledge-stele of Xeriga" (cf. *mlu ... wizttasppazñ* and *umrggazñ... sbirtẽ* above); b) *mlu neriu* "pledge-stele of/for the seagods (?)", d. pl.: *nere* (cf. Nereus?); c) *tasñ... mẽmrezñ* "codex of Mã/ẽmre", loc. pl.: *tsse*; d) Lyc. *xñtawatã tuwi* "regulations on the stele", or "regulation document" (partit. oppos.), or rather "ruler's stele" (partit. oppos.).

Cf. *tuwi* "tribute, grant" in acc. in 55.6: "Now, let the dependents (? nom. sg. coll. *atrala*) bring tribute from goods/possessions to the Princi-

pal god (*ẽnẽ: slatu: wesedi: prjãma*; cf. allat. *trqqñta*) for protection..., and to *lbbeweli* for fight(s)..." [Cf. *ẽnẽ sla-* (to IE **selH-?*) in 44.d 2-3: ... *ẽnẽ: slãtu: xbadiz: qrbbledi* "... let Lycians/Xanthians bring (allotment: *m̃qrẽ*) from stores (*qrbbledi*)". Cf. *sla-* in 44.c 32-33: ... *sebe: pasbã natri: slati: xusttedi: sebe xñtabu* "... Natri brings from battles/attacks both the troops and the command"].

Cf. also *tuwi* (acc.) ... *murei* (dat.) in 44.c 50: *tuwi-p(e) ene: padrete: xeriga: waxsa: murei: sebe zrigali: nei talã* "Xeriga promised/dedicated a grant/stele to *muri* [Natri?] for the battle, and a *tala** to *zrigali* [Trqqiz?] for the rule (?)".

[A similar passage is present in Lycian (where it precedes a long martial text): 44.a 33-34 ... *me: uwadraxi: ese: przz[ehi eh]etehi: axã: ara: nelede arñna* "Now, as required (*ara*), I made at the source (: Mil. *udrñte* < **wodrundós*) an offering for/to the First eternal (god) for attacks/victory in the battles at Xanthos"; cf. *ese* in 44.a 50-51: *ãka: herikl(e) ese* "like Herakles in assaults". (A synonymous *ẽke* appears in 44.d 6 *(w)er[i]kle-b(e) ẽke*)].

3) Lyc. *azzala-* means "state/union/alliance" (: Hitt. *azzallaya-* "net"?), not "decree": 44.b 59-62 (after *ade* "made" + several allatives in *-a*)... *xñtawati azzalãi... xñtawati: sberide* (etc.) "to the ruler of alliances/empires (of Darius and Artaxerxes)... to the ruler in Sardis [Lyd. **śfarid-*]". Note *(e)kehi xñta*, not "*kehixñta*", in 44.c 10-13 (after ... *ti: puweti* "... which writes/relates [as follows]"):

a) *azzalã: dde-u trbbeite mẽ: esbetẽ: xñtawatedi: unabãm̃me se mẽ kizzaprñna: widrñnah: se-we (e/i)rijamãna telẽzijehi: qlã arñnas: (e)kehi xñta: erbbedi* "Now, they also/allegedly, along with the Ruler, united [*trbbei-* to *trbbi* "ally" or "in alliance"] the alliance in equestrial raids, and now both Tissaphernes (son) of Hydarnes, and Hieramenes [united] Lycian military might of Xanthos through battles (*erbbedi*) in the face (*xñta*) of desintegration/devastation (*(e)kehi*)". See for *eke-* below, exx. 4sqq.

I would like to stress that the whole Lycian text of 44c is an accusation directed toward Tissaphernes and Hieramenes ("his son, the Xanthian"); it has nothing to do with the known treaties. Both Tissaphernes and Hieramenes are referred to as falsifiers of recent military history in monumental steles in capitals where they inflated their own role and denigrated the role of Lycians in the war. Accordingly, we read (immediately after the above passage):

b) "Now, in memorial sites/monuments (?), it is Tissaphernes who is behind and the Persian. Now, I made end to them (*ñne*: *t[rm̃]mã: axa*) and I reckoned (*ttli[xa]*) Tissaphernes and his son, the Xanthian (*[s]e[be] tideimi ehbi arusñ*)".

4) Both Lyc. and Mil. *eki-* may mean "(acute) need, scarcity" (etc.): cf. Mil. d.-l. pl. *eke/kke*, d.-l. sg. *eki/(e)ki* (also before *lle*) / *(e)ki-be* (not *ki/kille/kibe*). Cf. related forms: *ekeri/e* (dat.: "duties, war contributions" or sim.); *ek-ãnẽ* [acc.: "obligatory offering" or sim.: determined for *zina*-Trqqiz by *urasli*-Natri; cf. *m̃qrẽ* < **meH-wr-* "allotment" determined by *muri* for *[elij]az* [= Nymph(ad)s] (?); cf. *xerigazñ m̃qrẽ* released for *pigasa* and *urasla* at the *(e)ripsse*-storage]; *ek-abura* ("emergency troopers"?), *ekemije-* ("to devastate", used with *waxsa-* "battle, violence" which is quasi-synonymous to *laxa-*, *klleime-*, built as *zireime-*, *ereime-*, *zirẽple-*, *erẽple-* etc.). Cf. the reduced forms *ki(-be)*, *keri*, *kemV*.

M. Poetto proposes to me a tie-in of Lyc.-Mil. *eke-* with Hier. Luw. *kata aka-* "to subject, conquer". This interpretation of *eke-* seems not as good as "devastation" (*ek-* may match IE/Anat. **eg-* "lack, empty"; this **eg-* might be identified in Lyc. toponym *udr-eki* *"water-less", as tentatively suggested to me by D. Schürr).

Both in Lycian and Milyan, dat.-loc. pl. *eke* is governed by *tebe-*, *titbe-* "to beat, force (into...)" or sim. (< IE **dhebh-* "harm, injure; deceive"?). Cf., in 55.2.:

a) *eke: pleliz: abura: m(e) ebei: titbeti: zirãpla* "Now, for deficiency to(ward) the Phellian [Nymphs?], the detachment will strike his (lit. "him») provision-stockpiles (*zi-rãpla*)". Then: "I did not take produce (*xlusã*) from damaged households (?) to the sea-gods/water-gods (*nere*)". Cf. acc. *mlu neriu* "pledge for the watergods (?)"

Now consider the beginning of the preceding part (which is damaged):

b) *me (a/e)budi-ke: prijẽ: meri: zi-psse...* "But if someone fails the nobility quota for...". Note Lyc. 44.b 3-6: *mei ti [a/e]budi: iwẽ: se TeTeris: eri-zãna: tij[ãi:] ikedi: se mrbbẽnedi: xbihñ: hñ[tawadi: a]dm̃medi arusñ...* "But who fails to pay cities' fines of..., — Kaunian [fines] from... property/dwellings, Xanthian [fines] from ... wealth (??),...". *hñtawa-** is borrowed into Mil.: 44c. 54-55: ... *hñtawã (= xm̃tawã ?) ... sebedi qirzẽ ziwi* "([In cities] a, b, c) he establishes a rich (??) tribute to the God"; *iwe-* < IE **yewes-* "law" (?); *mrbb-ẽn-e-* possibly to Luw. *maruw-ai-* "smash" (or sim.).

5) An underlying [eke] (scarcely *-kke* "and") seems to appear as *kke* in 44.c 34-36 (following a "martial" passage — the beginning of the Mil. text of TL 44):

a) *trqqiz kke-pe: mede zppli: xixbati: qetbeleimis: s(e) iketesi: uwedris erẽpliz* "Trqqiz, in need for supply, sends [*xi-xba-* to Hitt./ Luw. *ḫapa-* "attach"; related to *xapax-i* "rapprochement"?] the *q.*-gods, and *iketesi* (sends) all [people?] to provision-stockpiles (*zi-(e)rẽpliz*)".

Mil. *zppli* may not relate to Luw. *zappal-* which designates a destructive action; cf. rather Hitt. *zuppa-* "vessel".

Mil. *iketesi* (a god; probably Natri) seems to be akin to *(i)kedi* (ablat.: "from properties/estates"?), Lyc. *ikedi* (ex. 4a); Lyc.-Mil. *ik-e-* may originate from IE **ēik-* "to own; property".

The verb *xba-* seems to mean "send (or "join")" in 55.4 as well (subject: a god):

b) *[z]ata* (or: *[z]aja*): *ãpiti [.. a]tli: lijanuwa kuli-ke mru[w]a[.]si: tidñta: xbade: s<e>be: purese: mñnusama: lajata* "He imposes tribute for the Nymphad; he sent the ... army (*kuli*) for battles [cf. Lyc. loc. *tddẽta* governed by *mlu-:* Luw. *malhuwa-*], and *m. l.* — for *p.*". In any case, *xbade* is a verb, not a toponym.

One more *xbade* appears in 44.c63-64:

c) *wixsaba laba: me tm̃me xbade: lẽm̃pe* (scarcely *lẽm̃-pe*): *tunewñni: seb(e) erẽpli: sabaka: qetbeleima* "Tunewñni(-god) sent for *laba* ("amends" ?) the *w.* warriors *t. l.* ["many times"?? — to Hitt. *lammar/n-* "hour"?], and the *q.*-units for *s.* (Trqqiz sent twice) to the stockpile(s)".

We had *eke* and *zirãpla* in 55.2; *kke*, *zppli* and *erẽpliz* in 44.c 34-36; we may note also *(e)ki zppli* in 44.d 10 (*epñ ki zppli*); *zppli... (e)ki-be* in 55.2-3 (*zppli... xlp[.]ã kibe*); *(e)ki-be... zirẽple* in 44.c 58-59 (next: synonymous *erẽple... waxsa*); cf. *kize* "for scarcity" and *kzta ẽ* "when need(ed)".

I am going to discuss sentences with *eki/(e)ki/(e)ki-be* in the next section.

6. Mil. *eki*, *(e)k-i*, *(e)ki-be* seem to be d.-l. sg. forms of *eki-* "need, deficiency, lack" (etc.) since they match semantically the above d.-l. pl. *ek-e/kk-e*:

a) 44.c 56-57 *ne-p(e) eki wisiu utetu ñt(e) elija* "I am not imposing (*wisiu*) the duty for Eli(ja) [: Lyc. *ñt(e) ele* "for springs/Nymph(ad)s"] for

deficiency", — or, rather, more emphatically: "It is not for deficiency that I am imposing...". An explanation follows: people are being given spoils/awards by gods. (The verb in this latter part is *murẽnedi* "is distributing" which seems to be used analogously to *muwati*, *(w)elputi*, *sukredi*; cf. *xra-* "keep"). Thereafter we read:

b) 44.c 58-59 *(e)ki-be uwe neu: psseje: qidridi: laxadi: zirẽple* "But if for deficit in stockpiles one doesn't retaliate with an assault" (or sim.). The next sentence seems to contain a warning: "The god Mammas (*mẽmi*) keeps (*xradi*)... for strikes with fury for damage to the stockpiles of gods (*erẽple... truijele*)".

Both in ex. a above and in four more sentences there appear negations *ne* and *neu* (where *ne* would be ambiguous); cf. three consecutive sentences with *ne* "not" in 55.6-7 (type: "I made A for B, and not for C" + other similar constructions):

c) *mlu neriu: muwaxa: tuwẽmedi: xaba: tutasiz: n(e) eki-k(e) epñ* "I strengthened the pledge for watergod(s) (?) through offerings ... for favors (*tutasiz*), — and not for deficiency later (?)"; etc.

In sentences with negation, authors assure people that the duty imposed on them was not meant to overpower them. TL 55 starts as follows: "Pixre is imposing it, this pledge to the Nymphad here, to assemble for, *wirasaja* (offerings) of duty-allotments (*t-m̃qrẽ* < *ute m̃qrẽ*), the Phellian Nymphs". (Next comes a warning to law violators: ex. 4a). Cf. *neu... (e)kibe* in 44.d 27-29: "*muni* entrusts Mẽmre's codex (*tasñ*) to builders (? *tuw-ad-i*); let him not use the accumulation (*trppali*: Hitt. *tarupp-?*) from the nobility quota for deficit (?)". Cf. a prohibitive sentence in 44.c 41-43 where *waxsi* may be synonymous to 44.d 29 *(e)ki-be*.

7. Milyan sentences with *eki/(e)ki/(e)kibe/eke/kke* are represented below in a schematic way: Note verbs *titbe-* "strike" and *(e)ki-(e)ki-* "wane, decline, fade away", *wisi-* "impose", *qidri-* "threaten":

eke- in DAT./LOC.	SUBJECT	VERBAL PHRASE	OBLIQUE CASES
a) *eke* for deficit	*abura* detachment	*titbeti* beats/strikes	*ebei... zirãpla*
b) *ne eki* not for deficit	I (impose duty on...)	*wisiu utetu* impose +	*ñtelija* for Eli(ja)
c) *(e)ki-be* for deficit	["whoever, anyone"?]	*neu qidridi laxadi*	*psseje... zirẽple*
d) *(e)ki* in scarcity	*trqqiz sebe... masaiz*	*(e)ki(e)kiti* may wane	

Note *xi-xba-* "send", *qla-* "assemble, put together, prepare", *muwa-* "enforce (etc.)", *xra-* "keep" (?), *me-* "use", *sukre-* "extol", *(a)s-* "make", *xupdi-* "mingle" (?), *tus-* "put / pay", *tewe-* "see, eye" (or "harm"):

e) *kke* (if from *eke*)	*trqqiz* (sends units)	*xixbati qetbeleimis*	*mede zppli... erẽpliz*
f) *(e)ki-be* for need	I (prepared...)	*qlaxa kãtdqẽ kup-mẽ*	*zppli* ++ *trqqñta* +
g) *n(e) eki* not for...	I (strengthened...)	*mlu neriu muwaxa*	*tuwemedi xaba tut-z*
h) *ne... (e)ki* not for	they (shall keep...)	*irelesi xrãti ziwalã*	
ne... (e)ki not for	[they (shall keep...)]	[*xrãti*] *terblẽ*	*lle luwadladi q-medi*
i) *(e)ki-be* in need	*muni* ruler	*metu neu* shan't use	*prijelijedi... meredi*
j) *(e)ki-be* for deficiency	*(w)elpumi* (the chosen?)	*ziu sukredi pasbu*	*pttili* ++ (for... skills)
(e)ki-be for ...	(somcone?)	*urttu qelideli (a)stte*	*mlati* in precinct?
(e)ki-be for ...	I (imposed ...)	*muwaxã ppeqzzi* ++	*xbadasiz lijenuwez* +
k) *(e)ki* for ...	*xumala* (high title?)	*xupdidu (a)l[b]m̃* ++	*tsse... warasijez* ++
l) *(e)ki* for deficiency	*[m]utla* violator (?)	*tbisu tustti terẽi tewẽ*	(?) *tunewñni* (god)
m) *(e)ki* in need...?	[introduced by *ti*]	*uguw. tewete arm̃pã*	(?) *sapali... zppli*

8) Mil. *ulaxa(di)* is not related to *laxa(di)*; rather it is akin to Lyc. *ule* "in fight(s)" < **walḫ̯ós* (?):

44.a 49 "... Xerẽi defeated the army ..., pushing to the ground (?) (*ẽti zehi hbãti* [< **s(u)wandi?*]) the Seven in fight(s) (*ule*)". Cf. Mil. gerund *uwẽti* (44.c 43: *mrKKas uwẽti* "when announcing praise"; note Lyc. PN *masa-uwẽti*), and a few more.

SOME COMMENTS ABOUT THE HITTITE NUMERAL 3

Kenneth SHIELDS, Jr.

Research into the phonological structure of Hittite numerals and their implications for the reconstruction of Indo-European is complicated by the fact that "the numerals in the texts in HL [Hittite-Luwian] languages are mostly represented by ideograms" (Shevoroshkin 1979: 177). Thus, apart from such ideogrammatic representation, the Hittite numeral 3 is only scantily attested, being manifested in the forms *teriyaš* (gen. pl.) "three" (Puhvel 1978: 99), *teriyalla-* (*tariyalla-*) "triple" ("designation of a drink offering" [Sturtevant 1936: 162]), ^LÚ^*tarriyanalli-* "third", [*teri*]-*yanna* "thirdly" (Friedrich 1952: 226). The true phonological shape of the root of these word-forms has occasioned some debate, with such scholars as Kronasser (1956: 121) and Benveniste (1962: 86-87) advocating an interpretation of *ter-*, and the majority of scholars like Szemerényi (1960: 82-83) and Friedrich (1974: 71-72) maintaining that the root reflects the traditionally reconstructed IE **tri-*[1]. In this paper I want to present further arguments for the plausibility of the former, minority position — arguments based on some research of mine regarding the etymology of certain other Indo-European numerals.

In Shields (1984, 1985, and 1991), I suggest that the traditionally reconstructed roots of the Indo-European numerals 4-10 actually "show a secondary affixation of [...] [various non-singular markers] as a means of hypercharacterizing their inherent non-singularity" (Shields 1985: 189). I follow Lehmann (1974: 201-202) there in claiming that an inflectionally-expressed number category was a development of late Indo-European and the early dialects, and Adrados (1987: 7) in arguing that the *dual*: *plural* opposition emerged still later from a unified *non-singular* category. It is because of the late emergence of the non-singular category that there exists so much dialectal variation in the forms of the numerals. The non-singular itself was expressed by markers which probably had their origin in enclitic deictic particles (Shields 1991/2). Among these markers were **-(e/o)s*, **-i*, **-n*, **-(e/o)r*, **-e*, and **-T* (= *t*

[1] EICHNER (1992: 66-67) sees the Hittite form as *ter-*, but derives it from IE **tri-* by way of anaptyxis — a proposal which he himself acknowledges has been widely rejected.

or *d*). **-(e/o)s* is attested in such plural forms as Goth. nom. *dagō-s* "days", Skt. nom. *dēvā́-s* "gods", Lat. acc. *lupō-s* "wolves", and Lith. acc. *vilkù-s* "wolves", while **-i* is seen in Lat. nom. *lup-ī* (< **-o-i*) "wolves", Gk. nom. *lúko-i* "wolves", Lith. nom. *vilka-ĩ* "wolves", and Hitt. nom.-acc. *kurur-i* "hostilities". The less widely attested marker **-n* is "found in such Tocharian nom. pl. forms as (AB) *riñ* 'cities', (B) *pyapyaiñ*, (A) *pyāpyāñ* 'flowers', (AB) *käntwāñ* 'tongues', *āreñ* 'plows', etc." (Schmalstieg 1980: 74) and in the *o*-, *i*-, and *u*-stem nominative-accusative dual suffixes **-ō*, **-ī*, and **-ū* (e.g., Skt. *vṛ̥kā*, Gk. *lúkō*, OCS *vlъka* "two wolves"), derived from the passage of **-V* + **-N* (short vowel plus nasal) to **-V̄* (long vowel) in word-final position (Schmalstieg 1980: 76-78). In regard to IE **-(e/o)r*, Erhart (1970: 80) says: "Eine andere Pluralendung [...] liegt vielleicht in den armenischen Formen auf *-er*, *-ear*, und in den keltischen (mittelirischen, mittelkornischen) Formen auf *-ar* vor; alle diese Formen gehen wohl auf ein i.e. *r*-Kollektivum zurück"[2]. Finally, the non-singular desinence **-e* appears in nominative-accusative duals like Gk. *mētér-e* "two mothers", Lith. dial. *žmûn-e* "two men" (cf. Endzelīns 1971: 165), OIr. *rig* (< **rēg-e*) "two kings" (Lewis – Pedersen 1961: 174), cf. Shields (1982b); and the marker **-T*, in contamination with **-n*, "is found dialectally [...] in the plural suffix **-nt*: Toch. A *-nt*, *-ntu*, Toch. B *-nta*, Luwian *-nzi* (nom.), *-nza* (acc.-dat.), cf. Schmalstieg (1980: 75-76)" (Shields 1985: 190, cf. also Shields 1981). "In Hittite, Indo-Iranian, Slavic and perhaps Greek, we find *-nt* more or less clearly as a collective suffix according to Erhart [1970: 79]. Sturtevant (1951: 79) cites such forms as *an-tu-uḫ-ša-an-na-an-za* 'people' as opposed to *an-tu-uḫ-ša-aš* 'man'; *ud-ne-ya-an-za*, *ud-ni-ya-an-za*, *ud-ne-e-an-za*, acc. *ud-ni-an-da-an* 'population' as opposed to *ud-ne(-e), ud-ni-e, ud-ni(-i)* 'country'" (Schmalstieg 1980: 75)[3].

On the basis of such observations about the non-singular affixes of Indo-European, I argue, for example: "The traditional reconstruction of 7 is **septm̥* (Skt. *saptá*, Gk. *heptá*, Lat. *septem*), although Germanic attests **sepm̥* (Goth. *sibun*, OE *seofon*, OHG *sibun*), supposedly derived from **septm̥* through dissimilation (cf. Brugmann 1911: 18 and Krahe 1969: 89). I believe, however, that the original root for 7 was **sep-* and

[2] KURYŁOWICZ (1964: 204) points out that the collective is a secondary function of the plural (non-singular).

[3] In uncontaminated form, **-T* is attested "in the nominative dual of the personal pronouns of Germanic (OE *wit*, Goth. *wit* 'we two' OE *ȝit*, Goth. **jut* 'you two') and possibly Baltic (Lith. [dial.] *vẽdu, mùdu* 'we two,', *jùdu* 'you two')" (SHIELDS 1981: 42-43).

that this root was extended by both the non-singular markers *-*t* and *-*n*, resulting in the creation of the doublets **sep-t* and **sep-n̥*. **sep-n̥* early became **sepm̥* as a result of assimilation, and this alternate was eventually contaminated with **sept*, yielding **septm̥*. Although both **sepm̥* and **septm̥* are attested, **sept* has apparently been replaced entirely by these other forms" (1985: 196). Likewise, I derive the numeral 9 (**newn̥*: Skt. *náva*, Gk. *en-néa*, Lat. *novem*) from the root **new-* plus the non-singular affixes *-*n* and *-*e*, the presence of latter (cf. also **penkʷe* "five": Skt. *páñca*, Gk. *pénte*, Lat. *quinque*) explaining "the Germanic preservation of final *-n*" (Goth. *niun*, OE *nigon*, OHG *niun*) (1985: 194-195)[4].

In Shields (1991: 269), I point out that in the world's languages, it is common for the numerals 1 and 2 to be etymologically related to demonstrative stems, and for the words 3 and 4 to be "a second 'this' and a second 'that'" (Conant 1896: 75), cf. also Menninger (1969: 17)[5]. Since the indefinite pronouns of Indo-European are probably demonstratives with weakened deictic force, cf. Shields (1991: 268-270), it is significant that Brugmann (1904: 402) writes: "Ein altes Indef. war auch **sm̥mo-s* 'irgend, einer', zu **sem-* 'eins' [...]: ai. *sama-s,* got. *sums*, gr. Adv. *hamôs* 'irgend wie'". In addition, "it is interesting that the other Indo-European root for 1 (**oi̯-no-*: Gk. *oinós*, OLat. *oinos*, Goth. *ains*, OPruss. *aina-*) can also be related to 'one or more derivatives from a pronominal stem **oi̯-* [...]' (Brugmann 1891: 4) and that if Schmidt (1978: 172) is correct in reconstructing **de-*/**di-* (cf. Hitt. *ta-*, Lat. *dis-*) as variant forms of the Indo-European root for 2, cf. Shields (1984), then 2 corresponds formally to the demonstrative stem in **di-* (cf. 'Iran. balt. *di-*: z.B. Akk. Sg. av. *di-m* preuss. *di-n*, Neutr. av. *di-t̰* 'es' [...]' [Brugmann 1904: 402]) and the Greek deictic particle *-de*" (Shields 1991: 270). The latter morpheme is relevant here since, as Brugmann (1911: 311) emphasizes, all demonstratives probably have their origin in deictic elements. Gk. *-de* simply retains its original functional status. In the numeral 4 (**kʷetwor-*: Skt. *catvā́r-as*, Dor. *tétor-es*, Lat. *quattuor*, Lith. *ketur-ì*, cf. Brugmann [1911: 12]), I see the root **kʷe*, which "is probably related to the Indo-European inter-

[4] The contaminated non-singular affix *-*ne* is clearly retained in Tocharian B nominative-oblique dual (paral) forms in *-ane*, cf. Van Windekens (1979: 241-242) and Shields (1985: 195).

[5] Menninger (1969: 17) observes: "Many investigators suspect, with good reason, that in the number words 'one, two, and three' are latent the roots of the [...] pronouns 'this, the, and that', or even the primordial forms of these pronouns became the first three number words".

rogative-indefinite stem in *k^we- (Skt. *ka-*, OCS *če-*, Gk. *te-*, Lat. *quo-*)" (Shields 1991: 269)[6].

Of course, there existed in Indo-European a demonstrative stem in **to-* (Skt. *tá-d*, Gk. *tó*, Goth. *þata*, OCS *тъ*), which, according to Brugmann (1916: 998) and Hirt (1927: 12), may be directly related to the deictic particle **tĕ̄* ("lit. *tè* 'da', gr. *tĕ̄* 'da, nimm'; dazu l. *is-te*, abg. *къ-to* 'wer'" [Hirt 1927: 12]). The two word-forms **to-/*te-* simply constituted ablaut variants (cf. **k^wo-* ~ **k^we-* [OLat. *qoi* ~ OIr. *cia*, cf. Brugmann 1911: 356]). The eventual specialization of *o*-grade in demonstrative function may be the result of the fact that the *e*-grade form was homophonous with the second person (singular) personal pronoun **te-* (Dor. *té*, Lat. *tē*, OHG *di-h*, OCS *tę*), cf. Brugmann (1911: 383)[7]. In any event, **te-* is clearly reconstructible as a morpheme with deictic-demonstrative signification.

On the basis of such typological and internal Indo-European evidence for a pronominal origin of the numerals 1, 2, and 4, I would propose that Hittite, by means of its typically archaic structure (cf. Adrados 1982), does indeed provide evidence for the reconstruction of an Indo-European numeral **ter-* "three", which itself can be analyzed morphologically as **te-* (a deictic-demonstrative stem) and **-r* (a non-singular marker used to hypercharacterize the inherent non-singularity of 3). In other words, although the dialects generally attest **trei̯-/*tri-* as the root for 3, cf. Brugmann (1904: 364), the morphological patterning just presented lends support to an alternative interpretation of the ambiguous Hittite orthographic evidence. Indeed, as Laroche (1966: 145) points out, "Hieroglyphic Hittite" clearly attests *tarsu* (*ter-*) "three", suggesting that the Hittite data are not so ambiguous after all and that the orthographic analysis of the majority of scholars is a result of their inability to find heretofore a principled basis for positing *ter-*. Perhaps this situation prompts Szemerényi's unsupported dictum: "The case for an IE **ter-* [...] is non-existent [...]" (1960: 82).

It is important to emphasize, too, that Hittite does not alone provide direct, internal Indo-European evidence for **ter-*. As Benveniste (1962: 87) indicates, a form **tr̥-*, a probable zero-grade of **ter-*, is found in the ordinals of a variety of dialects (Skt. *tr̥tī́ya-*, Lat. *tertius*, Lesb. Gk.

[6] The root **k^we-* is followed by the non-singular affixes **-t*, **-u* (cf. Skt. *vŕ̥kā-u* "two wolves"), and **-or*. See SHIELDS (1991) for details.

[7] I leave open the question of the possible etymological connection between deictic **te-* and the personal pronoun **te-*. On the original nature of the Indo-European system of personal pronouns, see SHIELDS (1986).

tértos)[8]; and it would seem that "the stem *tri-* contains a suffix *-i* which is absent in the ordinal **tr̥tī́ya-*" (Burrow 1973: 259), suggesting to me that **tri-*, in reality, is the zero-grade of **ter-* plus the non-singular affix **-i*[9]. The form **tr̥-* implies the morphological reanalysis of **te-r* as **ter-*, thereby prompting the addition of the hypercharacterizing affix **-i*. Szemerényi (1960: 82) maintains that the ordinals are younger than the cardinals and therefore cannot be used to reconstruct the original Indo-European number-forms, but this assertion is not a necessary assumption. It is quite possible that ancient roots are preserved in these secondary formations, even though innovative ordinal-deriving affixes have been attached to them. The validity of Szemerényi's objection is further called into question by Shevoroshkin's observation (1979: 184-185) that "there was no sharp distinction between cardinals/collectives and ordinals in HL languages so that forms in **-yo-*, **-to-*, **-no-*, etc., could be used both for cardinals/collectives and ordinals. It is an archaic feature since corresponding forms reconstructed for common IE seem to possess this peculiarity as well, having these suffixes both in collectives and ordinals". The variant **tre-*, which appears in such ordinals as OCS *tre-tьjь*, Lith. *trẽ-čias*, and Boeth. Gk. *tré-pedda*, is, in my opinion, the zero-grade **tr̥-* plus the non-singular affix **-e*. **tre-* thus constitutes a direct structural parallel to **tri-*. I believe that the variants **tre-* and **tri-* became contaminated to form still another variant of 3 — **trei̯-* (Skt. nom. pl. *tráy-as*, Gk. nom. pl. *treî-s*, with the non-singular affix **-(e/o)s*). The attested neuter plural form of the numeral 3 (**trī-*: Ved. *trī́*, OIr. *trí*, OCS *tri*, Lat. *trī-ginta* "thirty", Lith. *trý-lika* "thirteen") results from a similar contamination of **-i* plus **-n* (> **-ī*), cf. Schmalstieg (1977: 132-133) and Shields (1982a: 67-69). "A peculiar fem. form **tis(o)res* is attested by Skt. *tisras* (cf. also *catasras* fem. of *catvāras* 'four'), Av. *tišrō*, Ir. *teoir*, *teora*, MW, Br. *teir*, W. *tair*. This is prob. fr. **tri-sores* (with dissimilatory loss of *r*)" (Buck 1949: 942), cf. Pokorny (1957: 1090), or from **tisres* (< **tri-sres*) (Cowgill 1957). Although this form has "frequently been analyzed as [a] compound of the numeral 'three' [...] with a PIE word **sor-* 'woman'" (Cowgill

[8] SHEVOROSHKIN (1979: 182-183) reconstructs **tr̥-* as the basis for Lyc. *trppeme* "triple", *trzzuli* (dat. sg.) "third", and Lyd. *trala-* "third".

[9] ADRADOS (1975: 872) likewise sees **tri-* as the zero grade of **teri-* (perhaps preserved in Hitt. *teriyanna-* "third" < */tery-ono-/ [BENVENISTE 1962: 87], although EICHNER [1992: 69] maintains that "Hitt. *teriya-* [...] must have taken its *e* from the cardinal"); and BRUGMANN (1891: 8) also says: "The *-i-* was a suffix, as is proved by such forms as Skr. *tr̥-tī́ya-s* Gr. Lesb. *tér-to-s*". SCHULTZE (apud LOHMANN 1933: 365) identifies the suffix **-i-* of **trei̯-* as the pluralizing marker **-i*.

1957: 341), *-*s(o)r*- may represent a simple contamination of the non-singular markers *-*(e/o)s* and *-*(e/o)r*.

It is probably true that the original form of the Hittite (and Indo-European) root for 3 will never be definitively known. What I have tried to accomplish here is to demonstrate that historical linguistic analysis leads to few firm conclusions and that Szemerényi (1960: vii) was premature in writing: "[...] the basic features of the Indo-European system of numerals stand out with a clarity unwonted in any other part of Indo-European grammar".

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SEMITIC *dagān* AND INDO-EUROPEAN *$*d^{h}e\hat{g}^{h}om$*: RELATED WORDS?

Itamar SINGER

Charles William Carter's dissertation on *Hittite Cult-Inventories* (Chicago 1962) was one of the most stimulating studies that guided me during the preparation of my dissertation on *The Hittite* KI.LAM *Festival*. His accurate edition of these unique texts and his clear and penetrating commentaries on seasonal festivals, and especially on the *ḫuwaši*, were part of the foundation upon which I based my own studies on these subjects. I would like to offer the following tentative suggestion as a token of my appreciation of his memory.

Semitic *dagān*

The theonym Dagan is first attested in Early Dynastic Mari (Waetzoldt 1985: 245). Here, in one of Dagan's major cult-centers, the French expedition has unearthed his temple (see refs. *ibid.*: 245 n. 3). The inscriptions of the kings of Akkad, Sargon and Naramsin, provide the clearest evidence for Dagan's dominance in the northern Mesopotamian realm (*ibid.* 246; *ANET*, 268). Dagan of Tuttul (see Mayer 1987: 143 ff.) appears as one of the leading deities of Mesopotamia, who has granted the kings of Akkad victory over all of Syria, from Mari to the Mediterranean. Dagan is amply attested in theophoric names of this period (Waetzoldt 1985: 246 ff.) and the following Ur III period (*ibid.* 250 ff.). The name is usually spelled *da-gan*, occasionally *da-ga-an* or *da-gan*^{an}. With few exceptions which can be defined as Amorite, all the rest of the names are Akkadian (*ibid.* 247, 254). Their geographical distribution covers not only the Middle Euphrates, but also southern Mesopotamian regions. It is difficult to establish whether in southern cities (such as Girsu, Umma, Susa) the bearers of Dagan-names belonged to the native population, or were rather outsiders employed in various services (*ibid.* 248; cf. also Edzard 1983: 49). Waetzoldt has demonstrated, however, that there is a gradual increase not only in the number of Dagan-names, but more importantly, in the social status of their bearers (*ibid.* 254).

Beginning with Šulgi the cult of Dagan was promoted by royal families in the south, a process that reached its peak in the Isin-Larsa and the Old Babylonian periods (*ibid.* 254 ff.; for the evidence from Mari see Dossin 1940: 165ff.; 1950; Lambert 1985). In conclusion, Dagan, like other West-Semitic deities (Išḫara, M/Wer, Ḫaburitum), was strongly implanted in Mesopotamia from the second half of the third millennium B.C., his cult being among the leading ones not only in his "homeland" in the north but throughout the land. In importance Dagan was equalled only by Enlil, the leading god of southern Mesopotamia, and the two were sometimes equated (Edzard 1983: 50; Waetzoldt 1985: 248)[1]. Dagan was basically an omnipotent god of the land and its fertility. In his realm he carried the title *šarru mātim*, "king of the land" (Dossin 1940: 165)[2]. The new evidence from Late Bronze Age Meskene/Emar (for Dagan's role see Arnaud 1977: 254; 1987: 17) conclusively demonstrates that Dagan's name could simply be written with the ideogram ᴰKUR, i.e., "land"[3]. This may call for a general reassessment of the theonym ᴰKUR in cuneiform sources, which is beyond the scope of the present study[4].

For the etymology of the name Dagan the evidence from Mesopotamia does not offer much. There is no evidence that the meaning "grain", attested in the Canaanite languages, was also current in Mesopotamia. If Dagan had any concrete meaning at all in one of the languages of Mesopotamia, it would rather relate to "land", "earth", or the like. We shall later return to the etymological problem.

Until the discovery of the Ebla archives Dagan's "homeland" was located primarily in the Middle Euphrates region, whence his cult spread

[1] Note, however, that the third millennium vocabularies from Ebla do not confirm this equation (Pettinato 1985: 235 ff.).

[2] Some reservations concerning this identification were raised by Lambert (1985: 529 n. 4), who rightly points out, that this title should refer to different deities in different lands (e.g. the god Aššur in Assyria and possibly Itūr-Mer at Mari). However, in the Upper Euphrates region in general, and especially in Terqa and Tuttul, Dagan is undoubtedly the best candidate for the title "king of the land", as also shown by the evidence from Emar (see below).

[3] On bilingual seals Dagan is spelled phonetically (*Da-ga*) in hieroglyphic and with the ideogram ᴰKUR in cuneiform (Laroche 1981: 8 ff.). Incidentally, the omission of the final consonant, which is customary in the hieroglyphic spelling of Emar names, reminds one of the cuneiform theonym Daga, which according to Waetzoldt (1985: 245) should be kept apart from Dagan.

[4] E.g., ᴰKUR in an offering list from Mari of the time of the Šakkanakkus (see Lambert 1985: 529 ff.) may well stand for Dagan. Lambert has assumed that Dagan is represented in the list by ᴰLUGAL Terqa. However, the latter appears in a late Early Dynastic tablet from Mari (*ibid.* 531 ff.) alongside *ᴰDa-gan*, and may thus be a local hypostasis of the general appellation Dagan = ᴰKUR.

westwards to northern Syria. The abundant material from Ebla relating to early Syrian religion has refined our definition of Dagan's origins. It is now evident that he was a prominent deity in third millennium Ebla as well, perhaps even the head of the early Syrian pantheon (Matthiae 1980: 187; Pettinato 1981: 246; 1985). It should be noted though, that this conclusion rests on the plausible identification of the theonym ^{D}BE (probably an abbreviation of *bēlum*) with Dagan, i.e. "the lord" *par excellence*[5]. As in Mesopotamia, Dagan in Ebla is "lord of the land" (^{D}BE.KALAM.^{TIM}). A related epithet may be "dew of the land" (*ṭilu mātim*), if one accepts this meaning for *ṭilu*[6]. Other epithets are "lord of the gods" (^{D}BE DINGIR.DINGIR) and "lord of the stars" (^{D}BE MUL.MUL), which may perhaps be considered as quasi-synonyms (Pettinato 1985: 238). Ebla too, has not, so far, contributed much to the elucidation of Dagan's etymology, except in confirming the close connection between this deity and the notion of "land".

From northern Mesopotamia and Syria the cult of Dagan spread into the northern Levant, notably to Ugarit. Although he achieved a prominent position in the Ugaritic pantheon and was called Baʿal's father[7], Dagan does not seem to have belonged to Ugarit's earliest pantheon[8]. Two steles dedicated to Dagan were discovered near one of the temples excavated at Ugarit, and it has usually been assumed that the temple belonged to Dagan (e.g. Pope 1983: 277), but this has recently been questioned (Healey 1988: 105 ff.). The earliest attestation of *dgn* as a common noun is found in two Ugaritic texts, probably in the same meaning as Hebrew *dāgān* "grain" (Ginsberg 1946: 29; Aistleitner

[5] PETTINATO (1985: 236 ff.); see also ARCHI 1984: 232; cf. LAMBERT 1985: 529 n. 4). The argument is based on the vocabulary entry DINGIR.KALAM^{tim} = *be-lu ma-tim*, "lord of the land". BE as an abbreviation for *bēlu* is indicated *i.a.* by the compound ^{D}BE.KALAM^{tim} (see also LAMBERT 1985: 539). Finally, the occurrence of ^{D}LUGAL *du-du-lu*^{KI} along with ^{D}BE *du-du-lu*^{KI} ("king/lord of Tutul") leaves hardly any doubt that ^{D}BE can only refer to Dagan. Besides Tuttul, he is also associated with several other place-names, including the intriguing *ka-na-na-um* (PETTINATO 1985: 238 n. 24). Phonetic spellings of Dagan are quite rare at Ebla (*ibid.*, 239 ff.), and include the name of the general Emma-Dagan, who must be identical with Enna-BE.

[6] PETTINATO (1985: 237 n. 14; cf. LAMBERT 1985: 529 n. 4). In any case, it is difficult to follow PETTINATO's view (*ibid.* 244), that this title demonstrates Dagan's storm-god character (see below).

[7] For a different interpretation of the expression *bn dgn* see WYATT (1980: 377 ff.), but cf. below.

[8] See e.g. OLDENBURG (1969: 53 ff.). In Ugarit too, Dagan is identified as the god of Tuttul (*Ugaritica V*: 570). The complicated question concerning the formation and the inner-hierarchy within the top of the Ugaritan pantheon is of no direct relevance to this discussion (see, e.g., L'HEUREUX 1979 and HEALEY 1985 with references to earlier literature).

1963: 75; Gordon 1965: 384[9]; Caquot – Sznycer – Herdner 1974: 561; Ringgren 1977: 148). The influence of Dagan diminishes the more south one goes, and in Palestine, despite the commonly held view, there is no solid evidence for his cult before the arrival of the Philistines[10]. The only occurrence of a Dagan-name in the Amarna correspondence is in the letters EA 317-318, sent by Dagan-Takala (^{D}*Da-ga-an-ta-ka-la*), the ruler of an unnamed place. Ever since Knudtzon's arbitrary grouping of these letters with the correspondence from southern Palestine, it has been customary to quote this single name as evidence for Dagan's cult in southern Canaan. Artzi (1968) has proved beyond any doubt that these letters (and also EA 260) came from Syria, probably from somewhere in the zone extending between the Orontes and the Euphrates. Thus, the name Dagan-takala (as well as the name Balu-mer in EA 260) is conclusively "repatriated" to Dagan's original homeland in northern Syria.

In the Hebrew Bible a clear differentiation is made between the theonym *Dagōn*, the national god of the Philistines (see Dhorme 1950; Delcor 1964), and the common noun *dāgān*, a general term for "grain", which is usually listed together with wine and oil (Koehler – Baumgartner 1967: 205; Ringgren 1977: 150 ff.). Hebrew provides the only clear evidence for the vowel shift in the theonym Dagān > Dagōn. That *dāgān* and Dagōn are etymologically related is commonly assumed, but some scholars doubt the connection (see refs. in Ringgren 1977: 148).

The same phonetic separation between a theonym and a common noun is assumed for Phoenician, but the textual evidence is problematic and late. The lack of notation of *matres lectionis* adds a further difficulty. The only occurrence of *dgn* in a Phoenician text is in the 5th-century Eshmunazar inscription, but the context[11] does not allow for a clear choice between the common noun for "grain" (e.g., Cook 1903: 32; Donner – Röllig 1968: 23) and the theonym Dagon (e.g., Delcor 1964: 146; Rosenthal in *ANET* 505; Ringgren 1977: 148). A clear reference to the theonym Dagon is lacking in the Phoenician inscriptions and in other

[9] Cf., however, GORDON (1977: 55), where he translates the occurrence in the Epic of *Krt* as "Dagon".

[10] A detailed argumentation of this statement and the consequences it carries for the religion of the Philistines are discussed in SINGER (1992). The only pre-Biblical toponym containing the theophoric(?) element *dgn* is found in a list of place-names dating to Ramses III, probably copied from an earlier list of Ramses II (see HELCK [1971: 236]). However, this *bt-dgn* appears alongside places located in the southern Orontes Valley (Harnam, Ribla) and there is no reason to place it in Palestine.

[11] "Furthermore, the Lord of Kings gave us Dor and Joppa, the mighty lands of *dgn*, which are in the Plain of Sharon" (DONNER – RÖLLIG 1968: no. 14; for the dating see GALLING 1963).

texts relating to Phoenician religion[12]. On the other hand, Dagon appears as an important deity in Philo's *Phoenician History*, which was based on a Byblian cosmogony (Lipiński 1983: 308). Philo provides a clear etymological explanation of the name: "Dagon who is *Siton*", i.e. "grain" (809: 22; Baumgarten 1981: 181). He further informs us that "Dagon, since he discovered (the cultivation of) grain and the plow was called Zeus Arotrios (811: 44 ff.; Baumgarten *ibid.*: 182)[13].

The common noun *dgn* is also attested in Aramaic, in the 5th-century papyri from Elephantine (Aḥiqar, 129; Cowley 1923: 216).

This, in brief, is what we presently know about the extent and the character of the cult of Dagān (> Dagōn), and about the use of the homonymic common noun. There have been many attempts to provide a sensible etymology for these words, so far with limited success. Most scholars have sought a Semitic etymology; a few, discontent with the results, have leaned on non-Semitic explanations.

Disregarding the popular etymology of Dagon with *dag*, "fish" (see n. 13), one is left with two current proposals:

1) A West Semitic **dagān*, "grain", which presumes the acceptance of the etymological connection between the proper noun(s) and the common noun. This commonly accepted etymology (already stated by Philo in the early second century B.C.) has not only the advantage of having the proper and the common nouns attested in the same West Semitic languages, but is also supported by the semantic proximity between Dagan's basic function as an earth and fertility god and the common noun *dagān* which denotes earth's main crop, the grain.

2) Arabic *dajana*, "to be cloudy, rainy". This suggestion of Albright (1920: 319 n. 27)[14] has enjoyed popularity especially among scholars

[12] E.g., in the list of witness-gods in the treaty between Asarhaddon and Baʿal, king of Tyre (*ANET*, 534).

[13] This shows that in Philo's times the etymological connection with *dāgān*, "grain", was still current, and the popular etymology with *dag*, "fish", only emerged later. In Josephus Flavius and in Talmudic sources there are also no hints for the ichthyoid image of Dagon, which seems to have been first introduced by Hieronymus in his commentary on I Sam 5 (for the *Onomastica* references see MACALISTER [1911: 100]. The appearance of a merman-like god on some Phoenician coins cannot be related with certainty to Dagon; see LANGDON [1964: 83 fig. 43]). The fish-like image was popular among medieval Rabbinic commentators (see MACALISTER, *ibid.*) and was also taken up by scholars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries (see discussion in DELCOR [1964: 144 ff.]; see also GORDON [1966: 24]). WELLHAUSEN, e.g., even suggested to emend the Masoretic text for I Sam 5:4 into *dagō*, "his fish" (with omission of the final consonant).

[14] It seems that in later years ALBRIGHT himself did not adhere to his original suggestion. E.g., in (1968: 72) he wrote that "Dagon was undoubtedly a vegetation deity, but the original meaning of the name is unknown".

who have detected in Dagan some storm-god characteristics (Montalbano 1951: 394; Roberts 1972: 19; Wyatt 1980; Pettinato 1985: 244; cf. also Pope 1983: 277). Various circumstantial proofs have been adduced in support of this line of interpretation (see summary in Wyatt 1980), which, in my view, are of secondary value: a) that Dagan is juxtaposed to Enlil, the Sumerian Storm-god, may simply show that the two were considered as the supreme gods in their own realms, northern and southern Mesopotamia respectively; b) a seemingly more substantial argument is the circumstance that Dagan's consort Šalaš appears to be identical with the wife of the Storm-god Adad (Montalbano 1951: 386; Wyatt 1980: 377). However, the clearest mention of the latter connection comes from a first millennium Assyrian hymn with marked syncretistic tendencies (Saggs 1973: 168; 176 n. 47 with refs.), which should hardly be given conclusive weight in the reconstruction of early Mesopotamian religion. Of more relevance is the Hurrian pantheon from Ugarit and Hatti, where Šalaš or Šaluš is the consort of Kumarbi (Laroche 1968: 524 ff.; Gurney 1977: 14, 18). The latter is a vegetation god, who in Hittite divine lists is sometimes replaced by Ḫalki, the Hittite grain deity (Laroche, *ibid.*); c) the argument concerning Dagan's funerary associations as proving his storm-god character (Wyatt 1980: 377) is overly circuitous. Without delving into the exact meaning of the *pagrum/pgr* offering (see Spronk 1986: 150; Healey 1988: 106), suffice it to say that if Dagan has any chthonic associations, they are surely more coherent with an earth-god character than with a storm-god one; d) the Ebla tablets have added to Dagan the title *ṭilu mātim*, possibly to be construed as "dew of the land"[15]. Pettinato (1985: 244) has found in this epithet a further proof for the storm-god character of Dagan, but I have doubts concerning this interpretation. The importance of dew in semi-arid regions is mainly in the dry season, as aptly expressed by George Adam Smith (1897: 65): "The dews of Syrian nights are [...] the sole slackening of the drought which the land feels from May till October". That the epithet "dew of the land" (if this is what it means) should be used as a substitute for a title referring to winter rains and storms is questionable, and can hardly be used as evidence for the reconstruction of Dagan's image.

All in all, the arguments raised in support of Dagan's storm-god character seem to me tenuous and secondary in comparison with the solid evi-

[15] See n. 6 above. It is interesting to note that two occurrences of *dāgān* in the Old Testament (Gen 27:28; Deut 33:28) are also associated with the "dews of heaven" (Ringgren 1977: 150).

dence for Dagan's basic function as the god of the land and its fertility. One may further strengthen this conclusion by exploring Dagan's syncretisms with Hurrian Kumarbi and Greek Kronos (see Lipiński 1983: 308-310), but this is hardly necessary. Suffice it to add, that in Dagan's realm in northern Mesopotamia the real Storm-gods were Addu and Itūrmer (see Lambert 1985: 534 ff.; for Mer/Wer in the Syrian milieu see also Artzi 1968: 164 with refs.). There are, of course, quite often functional overlappings between different deities and it is not impossible that Dagan may have acquired some traits which are also common to storm gods, but these are secondary and not essential to Dagan's real image. Obviously, the functions of an earth-god and a storm-god are not too distant from each other, and both include the task of securing fertility. In Albright's words (1920: 319 n. 27): "From the nature of things most gods of productivity are also regents of the weather, and conversely". Nevertheless, there is a basic distinction between the two, in Semitic and in other religions, and Dagan clearly belongs to the former category, i.e. an Earth-god, appropriately titled "King of the Land". If we may relate the god's basic character to the etymology of his name, we may conclude by saying that it does not lend support to the suggested etymology with Arabic *dajana*, "to be cloudy, rainy" (see also Ringgren 1977: 148). To construe Ugaritic *bn dgn* as "the Rainy One" (Wyatt 1980: 377 ff.) seems to me somewhat far-fetched.

Among the current etymological proposals, a postulated West Semitic **dagān* is still the most preferable. As for the question as to which came first, the theonym or the common noun, the extant evidence seems to point to the former option. There is, so far, nothing to show that *dagān* had any meaning in Mesopotamia except for the theonym, and there seems to be a wide agreement (between those who accept the connection) that the name of the fertility god was the original etymon and it came to be used in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Hebrew as a "poetic" word for "grain" (Albright 1968: 72). An instructive parallel is provided by the name of the Roman goddess Ceres which came to be used in the common noun "cereal" (Albright 1920: 319 n. 27). Finally, in evaluating the proposed Semitic etymologies, it is important to recall the limitations of our knowledge of the unwritten languages of the Syrian-Mesopotamian realm, Amorite being a notable example. It is quite possible that *dagān* may have denoted a common noun in this or some other language of which we have no documentation.

Since an early Semitic etymology of the name could not be demonstrated satisfactorily, some early interpreters have opted for a non-

Semitic origin, Sumerian or some other substrate language of Mesopotamia (see Schmökel 1934: 99). The possibility of an etymological connection with Hittite *tegan* was noted by Schmökel (*ibid.*), but was immediately dismissed by him as dubious (together with Hebrew *dag* and *dagōn*).

To conclude this short survey on the quest for the etymology of Dagan, Dagon and *dagān*, it is of interest to quote a predictive reflection of Macalister, one of the first to have extensively dealt with Philistine religion (1911: 105): "Now strange though it may seem, there is a possibility that the Philistines brought with them from their western home a god whose name was similar to Dagon. We have not found any trace of him in or around Crete: the decipherment of the Minoan tablets may possibly tell us something about this in the future". Nearly a century after Macalister's wishful thought, the "Minoan tablets" (written in Linear A) still withhold their secrets[16], but the clue for a solution may perhaps be found not far from Crete.

Indo-European $*d^he\hat{g}^hom$

In contrast to Semitic *dagān*, the evidence for an Indo-European etymon $*d^h(e)\hat{g}^h(om)$, "earth", is relatively clear. Some of the undisputed cognates are Sanskrit *kṣam*, Greek χθών, Latin *humus*, Lithuanian *žême*, Old Slavic *zemlja*, etc (see Pokorny 1959: 414 ff.). Most authorities include in the list Hittite *tegan* and Tocharian *tkaṃ* (Pedersen 1925: 41 ff.; Kretschmer 1932; Sturtevant 1951: 59; Friedrich 1952: 220; Kronasser 1963: 270; cf., however, the reservations of Pokorny 1959: 416, following Benveniste). It is beyond my intention or ability to delve into a full linguistic analysis of this Indo-European etymon. In the context dealt with here the important point is, that two of the oldest Indo-European languages in the eastern Mediterranean, Hittite and Greek, possess an etymon, which is both phonetically and semantically very similar to the Semitic earth-god Dagan. Assuming that this similarity is not simply fortuitous, one may further note that, as one would expect, the Hittite form *tegan*, (genitive *taknaš*) stands closer to Semitic *dagān* than the Greek form χθών (which shows metathesis).

[16] Though GORDON (1966: 24) claims to have discovered a deity *Da-gu-na* in the Minoan tablets from Hagia Triada.

Of no less interest for the suggested connection is the circumstance that both Hittite and Greek possess theonyms derived from the word for "earth"[17]. Hittite *t/daga(n)zipa-*[18] appears both as a common noun, synonym to *tegan*, and as the name of a goddess. One text identifies her as the daughter of the Sungod[19], whereas another has the neat compound *annaš taganzipaš*, "Mother Earth" (Neu – Otten 1972: 184). Whether this is a general designation for the personified earth, or rather an epithet of a specific goddess[20], is difficult to establish. On the other side of the Aegean, Greek Χθονία was an epithet of Demeter, goddess of earth and of agriculture, who gave mankind the gift of grain (Seyffert 1956: 178). The epithet was sometimes also applied to her daughter Persephone, who descended to the Netherworld (Zuntz 1971: 400). In conclusion, the Indo-European cultures of Anatolia and Greece[21] possessed an earth goddess, who is comparable in every respect to Semitic Dagan, except for the different sex. In both worlds the original aspect of the deity was that of an earth divinity, who by induction became in some cases a grain deity as well.

The phonetic and semantic resemblance between Indo-European **d^heĝ^hom* and Semitic **dagān*, as well as the cognate theonyms constructed from them, allow us to suggest a common origin for the two.

That many Semitic words are also found in Indo-European languages has long been noted: *horn* and *qɛrɛn*, *goat* and *g^ed̠ī*, *wine* and *yayin* — to name a few examples (from English and Hebrew). These have been usually considered as "Kulturwörter", but recently a comprehensive theory was put forward by Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (1984: 872, 876, 881; 1995: 769, 773, 778 and *passim*) who claim a very ancient co-relationship between the two ethnic groups in the Near East. They have extended the list of common loan words and have also added to it parallels from Caucasian languages. As stated by one reviewer (Greppin 1986), one will follow eagerly the unfolding debate over this complex

[17] For other Indo-European representations of an earth goddess (including Phrygian Semele) see ROBBINS (1980: 20).

[18] With the personifying suffix *-šepa/-nzipa*, for which see LAROCHE (1946-47: 67 ff.); KRONASSER (1963: 184 ff.). The name is also spelled with the ideogram KI, "earth" (^DKI-*pa*). For the loss of the nasal *-n-* before *-z-*, see CARTER (1979: 94).

[19] KBo III 38 obv. 3' (with the feminine determinative ^SAL); see GÜTERBOCK (1939: 102); OTTEN (1973: 6 ff.; commentary on p. 37). That the male Sun-god Ištanuš is meant here is shown by the complemented form in the next line (^DUTU-*uš*).

[20] Such as the "Sun-goddess of the Earth", equated with Sumerian Ereškigal, Hurrian Allani, Anatolian Lelwani; see GURNEY (1977: 5).

[21] For the alleged Phrygian *gdan ma*, "Mother Earth" (KRETSCHMER 1932: 65; POKORNY 1959: 414) see the adjustment of MASSON (1979).

and far-reaching hypothesis[22]. At this juncture, I would only venture to suggest the addition of Indo-European *$d^h e\hat{g}^h om$* and Semitic *dagān* to the list of shared words*.

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[22] Cf. also the review article of SHEVOROSHKIN (1987), with an extensive history of research. Cf. also the critical remarks of DIAKONOFF (1990).

* Author's note: As this article was submitted in 1990, it has not been possible, with a few exceptions, to incorporate scholarship after that time.

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MORE ON THE HATTIC SENTENCE-BUILDING: DOES THE CATEGORY OF TENSE EXIST IN HATTIC?

Piotr TARACHA

1. A typologic and structural affinity between prefixing Hattic and West Caucasian (Abkhazian-Adygeian) (= WC) languages, already perceived by Forrer (1919: 1033; 1922: 229) and, it seems, first explicitly stressed by Bleichsteiner (1923; cf. also 1936: 400), is now generally admitted (see, e.g., Dunaevskaja 1960a; Deeters 1963: 76; Ardzinba 1974; 1979; Ivanov 1983: 109 ff.; 1985; Taracha 1988; 1989; 1993; 1995; Diakonoff 1990: 63; Braun 1994; Chirikba 1996: 406-430). Moreover, it is apparent that any comparative study of Hattic must be based on its morphological classification and the analysis of syntax, rather than entirely on lexical items. The latter way appeared misleading, cf. Mészáros's (1934: *passim*) pointless statements referring to the lexical relation of Hattic with Ubykh, many of the (hardly acceptable) meanings of Hattic semantemes, as proposed by Ivanov (1983: 109 ff.; 1985: *passim*), or Girbal's (1986: 160-163) wrong attribution of Hattic to Kartvelian suffixing languages. The difficulty also is that the cuneiform writing system, applied for Hattic, does not render its phonemic system which was no doubt characterized by an apparent quantity of consonants (see, e.g., Thiel 1976: 146 n. 2, 157-159; Braun 1994: 18-19); thus, very often it is hardly possible (1) to recognize their phonological features (cf., however, Ivanov 1985: 50-51; and, first of all, Braun 1994: 19) and — in this connection, among others — (2) to define the consonant verbal roots based on them. Yet it is obvious that the majority of homographic roots in Hattic were in fact not homophonic: e.g. the well-attested *ḫ(ə)/ḫu* "speak", cf. Abkh. *ħ°a* (For a common WC **H°a* "speak", see Chirikba 1996: 422); *ḫ(ə)* "take", in *a-an-tu-ḫ*, cf. Abkhaz and Kabardian *χ̆ə* (see now Chirikba 1996: 419); *ḫ(ə)* "put", in *ap-ta-ka-wa-ḫ-pi, wa-ḫ-ā,* etc. (see Ardzinba 1974: 12; Schuster 1974: 132-133; Girbal 1986: 17-18; Taracha 1988: 61 fn. 16; 1989: 262 c. fn. 2; Klinger 1994: 29), cf. Kabardian *l°ḥ'*-, Adyg. *l°*- < WC **χ̆°*- (according to S.A. Starostin, quoted by Ivanov 1985: 44 No. 25). This, too, is the case of other Hattic morphemes: e.g., the prefix *ta*- "in, inside", indicating place or direction, cf. Abkh. *ta/t*- (Kammenhuber 1969: 522;

Ardzinba 1979: 28-29; Chirikba 1996: 413), over against the exponent *et/te/at-* of the subject or object (3 p. sg.) in the framework of the ergative construction of a sentence (see Taracha 1989: 265; 1993: 292-293; 1995: 356), cf. Abkh. *d(y)-* (3 p. sg., class of rational beings), etc. That, among others, can explain why the hitherto published attempts (cf. above) to determine semantic and grammatical functions of Hattic morphemes solely on the basis of lexical data from Caucasian languages were in great part unsuccessful.

With regard to that task, structural analyses of Hattic morphology and syntax, utilizing the internal evidence, first of all, of the Hattic-Hittite bilingual texts, proved more promising; their results could be verified by means of comparative linguistics. Thus, Dunaevskaja (1959; 1960b; 1961; 1980: 16-21; cf. also Kammenhuber 1969: 530-532; Klinger 1996: 631), in her discussion of the building of Hattic verb forms, described the system of prefixes in the predicate and established the incorporating structure of the latter, generally typical of Caucasian languages. Ardzinba (1974: 13-15; 1979: 35-37) studied the arrangement of parts of a Hattic simple declarative sentence, and the present author sought to ascertain the principles of Hattic sentence-building, to wit, its ergative construction and the morphemes by which it was defined in the structure of the Hattic complex verb form (Taracha 1988; 1989: 265-266; 1993: 289-293; 1995: 354-356). All these studies, together with a substantial number of material correspondences, both in grammatical elements and in the lexicon (cf., e.g., Braun 1994: 19-22; Chirikba 1996: 406-430), clearly showed the morphological and structural affinity of Hattic to WC languages (sceptically, however, Klinger 1994; 1996: 102-104, 633).

In what follows I would like to offer some additional remarks on syntactic relations; yet, the question of tenses in Hattic is the main concern of this paper (cf. also Taracha 1995: 357-358).

According to Dunaevskaja (1961: *passim*; 1980: 15), the Hattic verb does not show time, but in the light of the bilingual loci, where in the Hittite version the past or present tenses occur, we have before us the reasons that also in Hattic these forms are somehow differentiated. In this connection, Schuster (1974: 93) and then Girbal (1986: 124-126, 174) considered the suffixes *-e* and *-u* respectively to indicate the present, while the aorist, as in other WC languages, is denoted by a pure stem.

As a matter of fact, if at all, we should look for exponents of tenses only among postfixes, since grammatical functions of the verb prefixes

are already well known (cf. above). Moreover, we have to ask how far the Hittite, i.e. IE, tenses correspond to the inflection of the Hattic verb.

To answer this question it is necessary to discuss the relevant bilingual loci which display the present in the Hittite version:

[a] The Suffix *-e*?

This suffix, as Schuster (1974: 66-67) suggested, would only be found in KUB 2.2 ii 45 ff.: *anna eš-kă-ḫer-pi tabarna*[*-n katte*] (46) *lē-wa*$_a$*el nī-pu-pi*(-)*e zī*(*u*)-[*š*? *pala*?] (47) *yā-e i-malḫi*[*p*] (51) *pīp i-šaḫ taš-te-ḫ-*[*ka-*]*zi-a* = Hittite 48 ff.: *mān-at tapariyaweni-ma* [*labarnaš*] (49) LUGAL-*waš* É-*ir iyaweni-ma-aš* ḪUR.SAG^{MEŠ} (50) *n-aš-ši piweni* SIG$_5$-*and*[*u*]*š* NA$_4^{ḪI.A}$ (54) *idaluš-ma-šši-kan* NA$_4$ *anda lē kittari*. Nobody, however, concurred with Schuster and, indeed, it seems that the Hittite version does not faithfully render the Hattic: "And at that time when them-above-establishing, the-houses [of] tabarna, [the king], and-when-making rock (of them), (the gods) give [or: let (the gods)-give, cf. Commentary] the-good (stone); the-bad stone, do not-let-it?-there inside?-lie (in their walls)!".

2. Commentary:

anna = Hittite *mān* (see Laroche 1947: 83-84), cf. Ubykh *anə(n)* "then, at that time when", Abkh. *an-* "when" (see Ivanov 1985: 40 No. 2; Chirikba 1996: 429).

eš-ka-ḫer-pi: *eš-* indicating the object pl. (see Dunaevskaja 1960b: 277 fn. 4; 1973: 19-20; Taracha 1988: 61; 1989: 265-266; 1993: 289-290; 1995: 354-355. For a different opinion, cf. Laroche 1947: 82-83; Kammenhuber 1969: 501, 512; Klinger 1996: 628); *ka-* "above"; the verbal stem *ḫer* "establish"; *-pi* copulative = Hittite *-ma* (see Laroche 1947: 82).

lē-wa$_a$*el*: The prefix *le-* denotes the 3 p. pl., also in the possessive meaning "theirs" (see, e.g., Forrer 1919: 1033; 1922: 230-231, 233; Deeters 1963: 76; Taracha 1988: 63-64; 1989: 266; 1993: 290-291; Braun 1994: 16). Yet, some scholars still have their doubts about this being true. Kammenhuber (1969: 463-467, 477, 482-483) distinguished the plural morphem *le-* from the homonymous possessive prefix *le-* "his" (one or several objects of possession) (cf. also Chirikba 1996:

411-412). Others go so far as to deny that this prefix is an exponent of plurality. According to Girbal (1986: 141-144, 170-171), it has only the possessive meanings "his" (one masculine possessor) or "theirs" (several possessors); cf. also Klinger 1996: 650-651.

nī-pu(-u$^{?}$*)-pē*: In the Hittite version the particle *nu* in *n-aš-ši* apparently indicates the beginning of the subordinating member (for syntactic functions of *nu*, see Schuster [1974: 88]; Carruba [1985: 80-81]). Thus, the temporal clause both in the Hattic and Hittite versions consists of two coordinate sentences, in Hattic with *-pi* copulative. In this context the prefix *nī-* seems to correspond to *anna* (cf. above), and *-pē* is perhaps a variant of *-pi* copulative? Schuster's proposal to emend this verb form — *nī-pu-pi-e*: *nī-pu-e-pi* — as well as his suggestion that it contains a marker of 1 p. pl. (*i/e-*?) (Schuster 1974: 90, 92-93; Klinger 1996: 629; cf. also Girbal 1986: *ni-* "wir") appears to be very unlikely. On the other hand we cannot exclude the possibility that the sign PU reflects here not only the verbal root *pu* but also the ending *-u* indicating the present time (see Girbal 1986: 125, and [b] below) and comparable with the Abkhazian suffix *-u/wa* of non-finite and action verbs (see Deeters 1931: 295-296: *s-cà-wa* "ich (eben) gehend"; Lomtatidze 1967: 114). The verb form *nī-pu(-u*$^{?}$*)-pē* is the predicate of the second coordinate sentence, which can explain the absence here of the adverbial morpheme *ka-* and the objective exponent *eš-* that occur only once at the predicate (*eš-ka-ḫer-pi*, cf. above) of the first sentence. Still, it is obvious that their grammatical function pertains to the whole complex clause.

zī(u)-š$^{?}$: the root *zī* (cf. *zī-ap* = *INA* ḪUR.SAG) + a suffix *-š*$^{?}$, cf. e.g. the Abkhazian adverbial noun form of conversion with the suffix *-s* that "das Prädikatsnomen bei Verben mit der Bedeutung 'machen zu', 'haben als' erhält" (Deeters 1931: 294; see also Lomtatidze 1967: 109).

yā-e: The morphology of this form is uncertain. Since it is rendered by the present in the Hittite version, we cannot exclude that the suffix *-e* indicates the present tense here too. Yet, according to the context, *yā-e* is relevant to the optative *taš-te-ḫ-kazi-a* (for the latter form, see Kammenhuber [1969: 524]; Braun [1994: 21]; Chirikba [1996: 412, 421]) and to the imperatives in following, coordinate sentences, apparently with the same understood subject — the gods: *wa-ḫ-zi-ḫer-ta* = Hittite *munnandu; tabarna-n katte yā-ya* = Hittite *labarnai* LUGAL-*i piyandu* (see Schuster 1974: 68-69). Therefore, it might also be considered as imperative, where the suffix *-e* would be a variant of the imperative and optative ending *-a/ya*.

3. On My Rendering of Some Hattic Verb Forms by Participles:

The present tense occurring in the Hittite version shows that the translator was aware of a different structure of the Hattic temporal clause under consideration, in comparison with other coordinate simple declarative sentences in which a pure verb stem denotes aorist; but it seems he did not yet understand principles of the syntactic relation he had to render. Thus we should ask whether the IE (Hittite) present really reflects here a relationship between members of the Hattic compound sentence, since it should be assumed that the hypotactic relation between the subordinating and subordinate clauses was in Hattic, as generally in WC languages, expressed rather by the opposition of aspects — finite: non-finite. In this connection let us cite Deeters's (1931: 295) note on the structure of an Abkhazian sentence:

> Jeder abgeschlossene abchasische Satz enthält ein und nur ein finites Prädikat [...] Alle anderen Prädikate sind infinite, mit Partizipien vergleichbare Formen [...] Aber diese infiniten Formen tragen zugleich einen Vertreter des Subjekts in sich, es sind Satzäquivalente, prädikative Fügungen. Während es in den indogermanischen Sprachen die Personalendungen sind, durch die sich die finiten Verbalformen vor den infiniten auszeichnen, sind diese Fügungen infinit, aber persönlich.

It seems that the Hattic citation with which we are concerned displays the same principle: the conjunction *anna/nī-* "when" may point out the non-finite forms, one of which — *eš-ka-ḫer-pi* — includes also the exponent *eš-* of the object pl. and the adverbial particle *ka-* (cf. above). On the other hand, the subject — the gods — seems to be understood from the previous sentence KUB 2.2 ii 40: *wa$_a$-šḫap-ma eš-wu$_u$r aš-ka-(ḫ)ḫir* "the-gods above-established-them, the-lands", and that is perhaps why in the Hittite version the 1 p. pl. mistakenly occurs. The exponent of the object pl., *eš-*, could easily be confused with the homographic marker of 1 p. pl., *(u/e)š-* (cf. Laroche 1947: 53), cf., e.g., Ubykh *š'ə-* (Chirikba 1996: 428), if the Hittite translator based his translation only on the written version of the Hattic ritual.

These presumably non-finite verb forms were, however, rendered in Hittite as present, i.e. finite. In this connection we can quote Neu's (1989: 299) notes on the Hurrian-Hittite bilingual KBo 32.13 i/ii 28-29:

> Das letzte Wort des hurritischen Satzes, *mé-e-ḫa* (*meḫ=a*), bildet als Partizip intransitiven Charakters das Prädikat des Satzes und wird im Hethitischen mit der finiten Verbalform *ti-i-e-et* "trat/stellte sich hin" übersetzt... Aus KBo XXXII 19 I/II 10 (vgl. III 34'f.) ergibt sich für *meḫ=a* semantische Entsprechung auch mit heth. *ša-ra-a ar-ta-ri* "er stellt sich aufrecht hin, steht aufrecht da".

(cf. also Neu 1996: 224-225, 266-267, 378-379, 405).

Thus, the Hurrian participle *meḫ-a* was translated with Hittite finite forms either in the present or in the past tense and it might be assumed that the Hittite translator intended in that way to express contemporaneity of (present or past) states or actions described by non-finite and finite predicates. Perhaps, that is also the case of the Hattic-Hittite citation under discussion in which, in the Hittite version, the present tense was used.

As we see, the verb forms supposed here to be non-finite are only distinguishable in the sentence context, to wit, they are marked by the temporal conjunction *anna/nī-*. The finite particles of other WC languages have not yet been identified in Hattic, although they might be seen in such forms as e.g. *ta-ḫ(-)ku-wa-t* = Hittite *epta-an*, cf. Abkh. *à-mla s-a-ḳə-wò-jṭ* "der Hunger, mich-er-hat gepackt" (see Deeters 1931: 298), with the past tense finite suffix *-jṭ* of action verbs (now also Chirikba 1996: 416). What we assume for Hattic is typical of Abkhazian compound sentences, e.g. *z-àšχ°a u-tò-w j-àš°a ħ°a* "wessen-Boot du-drin-seiend sein-Lied sprich!" (see Deeters 1931: 296), where the indefinite possessive particle *z-*, introducing the subordinate clause, indicates its non-finite predicate.

[b] The Suffix *-u*.

Girbal (1986: 124-125; see now also Chirikba 1996: 418-419) was seemingly right when, compiling a list of the relevant loci, he perceived the Hattic morpheme *-u* to denote the present time, cf. *ga-ur-an-ti-u* = Hittite TÚL-*i šer artari*; *ú-da-nu(-u)* = Hittite *anda paiši*, etc. As we have stated above, this ending is comparable with the Abkhazian suffix *-u/wa* which indicates the present tense, or rather the imperfective-inchoative aspect of non-finite or action verbs, occurring also, in nominal sentences, in the noun and adverbial complexes (Deeters 1931: 295-296). In the latter position we can find this morpheme in Hattic, too: KUB 2.2 iii 14-15:... *kaštip* ᴰZ[*ilipur*]*e-u katti* "Of the gate [or: at the gate] Z[ilipur]i-is [or rather: -being] the king" = Hittite 17: KÁ-*aš-ma-za-kan* ᴰ*Zilipuraš* LUGAL-*uš*. Moreover, some action verb forms, as in Abkhaz, most likely include the same particle: e.g. the already mentioned *ta-ḫ(-)ku-wa-t* = Hittite *epta-an*; *pi-nnu-wa-t* = Hittite *pait-aš*, etc. Since in the Hittite translation the past tense appears, it is likely that the indication of the imperfective-inchoative aspect was more important here than that of the present.

[c] The Suffix *-š*.

It is to be found in *ta-niwa-š* = Hittite *nu-za ... anda ešzi* (see Schuster 1974: 89), while the pure, thus indicating aorist, verbal root *niw(a)* is

attested in KBo 37.1 obv. 27a: *zi*[(*lat*)] ^{D}*Katazīwu*$_{u}$*ri* (28a) *pal*[*a a-a*]*n*/[*t*]*a-niwa-pa* "And Katahziwūri sat down on the throne" = Hittite 26b: ^{GIŠ}ŠÚ.A-*ki-ma-za-kan* ^{D}*Kamrušepaš* (27b) *ešat*. Klinger (1996: 642, 667) put forward a different interpretation of the Hattic verb form, suggesting the emendation (-)*t*]*a-/niwa*<*š*>*-pa*.

According to Schuster (1974: 88 fn. 202), the present tense in the Hittite version — *anda ešzi* — expresses a *consecutio temporum*: "und (nunmehr) setzt sich der Tabarna, der König, darein". In point of fact, however, there occurs in Abkhaz the analogous suffix *-š* indicating future II, with the meaning: "somebody will (obviously) do something", cf. *d-ca-š-t* "he will (of course) go" (see Lomtatidze 1967: 114; Deeters 1931: 295 "konativ-prospektives *-ša*"). Thus, the Hattic sentence under consideration — *tabarna katti ta-niwa-š* — may be understood as follows: "Tabarna, the king, will (obviously) sit down on (the throne)".

(d) The Suffix *-n*.

KUB 28.4 i 11a-13a reads: *wa*$_{a}$*-nū-*(*p*)*pa* ^{D}*Ḫapantili še-et-tugga-š an-tuḫ-dun*(-)*d-u te-tukka pī-ḫa-n* (KUB 28.5 obv. 25a: *i-ūḫ*), and 19a-20a below: *pī-nnu-wa-t Ḫapantali še-et-tuqqa-š an-duḫ-dun*(-)*d-u te-dugga pī-*<*ḫ*?>*-wa* = Hittite 22b-23b: *pait-aš* ^{D}*Ḫapantaliyaš na-šši kattan tiyet n-an udaniškizzi*. Both versions (a. and b.) of the Hattic utterance should mean the same, but syntactically they apparently differ from each other. In his commentary to this passage Girbal (1986: 34-35) tells us that the Hattic phrase *te-tukka pī-ḫa-n* has not been rendered at all in the Hittite version and that the entries of *piḫan* only mistakenly occur in place of *piwa(n)*; yet I cannot agree that his proposal is a good one (see Taracha 1989: 263-264). Formally analyzed, the word *pī-ḫa-n*, which no doubt corresponds with the Hittite iterative *udaniškizzi*, is constructed of a morpheme *wa*$_{a}$*/pi-* indicating direction ("hin", see Girbal 1986: 62) + the verbal root *ḫ(ə)* "speak" + a suffix *-n*; in one case it is replaced by the pure stem form *i-ūḫ* in the aorist. The whole Hattic citation includes always three verb forms — *wa*$_{a}$*-nū-*(*p*)*pa*/*pī-nnu-wa-t*, *an-tuḫ-dun*(-)*d-u*, and *pī-ḫa-n* (*i-ūḫ*)/*pī*<*-ḫ*>*-wa* —, but it seems, also in light of what has been said about the sentence structure in WC languages (see Commentary in [a]), only one of them, though a different one in each version, should be finite, to wit, respectively *pī-ḫa-n* (*i-ūḫ*) and *pī-nnu-wa-t* (with the finite suffix *-t*?, cf. above). The former displays the suffix *-n*, to be compared with the Abkhazian finite morpheme *-n* indicating durative (continuative) in the past, cf. *də-psə-jṭ* "er starb, ist gestorben", but *də-psə-wa-n* "er lag im

Sterben", or in a nominal sentence: *sə-owə-bzia-n* "ich war ein guter Mensch" (see Deeters 1931: 296; Lomtatidze 1967: 114; now also Chirikba 1996: 416). Thus, we are able to interpret the Hattic citations under discussion as follows: a. "There-coming, Hapantali — approaching him (i.e. the Moon-god) — was casting (cast) a spell on him"; b. "There-came Hapantali, approaching him (and) casting a spell on him".

The Hattic durative *pī-ḫa-n*, on the analogy of the Abkhazian morpheme *-n* in the past, is therefore rendered in Hittite by an iterative, even though in the present tense, *udaniškizzi*. In this connection we should assume that the past or present tenses in the Hittite version, in accordance with its syntax, were most likely employed there only to express a *consecutio temporum* (he has come and then bewitches, cf. [c] above and Schuster 1974: 88 fn. 202). Yet they do not reflect the Hattic sentence's structure which appears to be based on the opposition of aspects — finite: non-finite.

Another verb form with the ending *-n* might be found in the bilingual KUB 2.2 iii 26/28: *a*(-)*an-ta-b-b*(< *n*)*u*. Unfortunately, the Hittite version is fragmentary here, and Schuster's (1974: 72-73) restoration of the verb — *anda u*[*škir*] — remains conjectural (cf. Klinger 1996: 631 fn. 61). Moreover, if we analyze the first two lines of the "Myth about the Moon Which Has Fallen from Heaven": *kāp ka-yaḫ-du* ᴰ*Kašku duk-zik* / *zu*ˀ*-du-ḫa-n zišim* (see Kammenhuber 1955: 106-108, 120), it becomes apparent that this passage has not been faithfully translated into Hittite: ᴰXXX-*aš-kan nepišaz maušta* / *na-aš-kan šer* KI.LAM-*ni maušta*. The finite verb *zu-du-ḫa-n* (? the root *ḫ(ə)-* "put (oneself)" [cf. above] + the suffix *-n*) suggests rather the following interpretation of it: "The Moon-god above, falling down from Heaven, was lying in the courtyard".

4. To sum up my conclusions concerning Hattic grammar:

(1) It seems that a Hattic compound sentence is built on the opposition of aspects — finite: non-finite. In other words, there is only one finite predicate in it. The suffix *-t* in such forms as *pī-nnu-wa-t*, *ta-ḫ*(-)*ku-wa-t*, etc., might be one of finite endings.

(2) Hattic tenses, as in other WC languages, are denoted by verbal suffixes, except for the aorist which is indicated by a pure verbal stem. Of those suffixes I was able to discern three: *-u/wa* for the present (imperfective-inchoative aspect), *-š* for the future, *-n* for durative in the past.

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